

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Theses, Dissertations, and Student Creative
Activity, School of Art, Art History and Design

Art, Art History and Design, School of

Spring 4-2011

A Memory Forgotten: Representation of Women and the Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument

Melissa Sheets

University of Nebraska-Lincoln, melissa.r.sheets@live.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/artstudents>



Part of the [American Art and Architecture Commons](#), [Art and Design Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Sheets, Melissa, "A Memory Forgotten: Representation of Women and the Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument" (2011). *Theses, Dissertations, and Student Creative Activity, School of Art, Art History and Design*. 21.

<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/artstudents/21>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Art, Art History and Design, School of at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses, Dissertations, and Student Creative Activity, School of Art, Art History and Design by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

A MEMORY FORGOTTEN:
PUBLIC REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AND THE WASHINGTON D.C.
ARSENAL MONUMENT

by
Melissa Rae Sheets

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of
The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska
In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts

Major: Art History

Under the Supervision of Professor Wendy Katz

Lincoln, Nebraska

April, 2011

A MEMORY FORGOTTEN: PUBLIC REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN
AND THE WASHINGTON D.C. ARSENAL MONUMENT

Melissa Rae Sheets, M.A.

University of Nebraska, 2011

Advisor: Wendy Katz

The Arsenal Monument in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington D.C. commemorates the twenty-one women who died while working as cartridge makers in the Washington Arsenal on June 17th, 1864. It utilizes both traditional and idealized memorial imagery, represented by an allegorical figure of Grief who stands atop the Monument's shaft, as well as a realistic representation of the Arsenal explosion carved into the base. Erected only a year after the incident, the Monument can be interpreted as commemorating all twenty-one women by the inclusion of their names on the sides of the base. From this listing of names and the Monument's location within a cemetery, it would also appear that the Monument serves as a headstone for the mass grave below.

However, six women, whose families preferred them to be buried separately from their fellow comrades, are in other locations both within the Congressional Cemetery and in Mount Olivet Cemetery. This separation raises questions as to whether or not this public Monument was a successful memorial for the women's families. Before the rise in popularity of monument building in the decades following the Civil War, mourning and memorializing was a private practice conducted by family and friends rather than the government and fellow citizens. Given this, the Arsenal Monument can be viewed as an object that mediates between the private act and the eventual public recognition of lives lost during wartime.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Association for the Preservation of the Historic Congressional Cemetery for their quick correspondence and Steve Hammond for answering all my questions and sending me information on the Washington Arsenal's fire. I am grateful to Professor Wendy Katz, chair of my graduate committee, for her support and thoughts on this thesis project.

Lastly, I would also like to thank my family for their never-ending support and John who provided me late-night phone calls and laughs.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Discussion: 1 – 31

Illustrations: 32 – 57

Appendix: 58 – 65

Bibliography: 66 – 70

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1. Washington, D.C. Arsenal Monument: 29
- Figure 2. Washington, D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail Grief: 30
- Figure 3. Washington, D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail Grief: 31
- Figure 4. Washington, D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail Grief: 32
- Figure 5. Washington, D.C. Arsenal Monument: 33
- Figure 6. Washington, D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail south side of base, explosion relief: 34
- Figure 7. Washington, D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail west side of base: 35
- Figure 8. Washington, D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail east side of base: 36
- Figure 9. Washington, D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail north side of base: 37
- Figure 10. Congressional Cenotaphs, 38
- Figure 11. *Harper's Weekly*, "The Washington Arsenal:" 39
- Figure 12. U.S. Arsenal, Washington, D.C., north front interior court: 40
- Figure 13. Washington, D.C., park of wiard [sic] guns at the Arsenal: 41
- Figure 14. Washington, D.C., park of wiard [sic] guns at the Arsenal: 42
- Figure 15. *Harper's Weekly*, "Our Women and the War:" 43
- Figure 16. *Harper's Weekly*, "The War – Making Havelocks for the Volunteers:" 44
- Figure 17. *Harper's Weekly*, "Filling Cartridges at the United States Arsenal, at Watertown, Massachusetts:" 45
- Figure 18. *Harper's Weekly*, "W.S. & C.H. Thomson's Skirt Manufactory:" 46
- Figure 19. *Harper's Weekly*, "Hoops and Combustion:" 47

Figure 20. *Abraham Lincoln Statue*, courthouse: 48

Figure 21. *Grief* from *Iconologia*, or *Moral Emblems*: 49

Figure 22. *Mourning Picture*: 50

Figure 23. *Mourning Locket for A.R.*: 51

Figure 24. *Memorial for George Washington*: 52

Figure 25. Litchfield Civil War Memorial, Maine: 53

Figure 26. *The Triangle Fire Memorial to the Unknowns*: 54

On a hot summer day on June 19, 1864, approximately a thousand people collected at the Washington D.C. Arsenal's gates to witness the funerary rites for fifteen young women who had perished in the Arsenal fire two days previously.¹ The women worked in the Arsenal as cartridge makers during the Civil War. After the ceremony, the funeral procession made its way from the entry gates of the Arsenal complex to the Congressional Cemetery. The streets were lined with spectators. This accident had been the worst to have happened in the city during the entire span of the war leaving many shocked at such a sudden death toll that was unrelated to a battle.² Though the cemetery was originally private, founded under Christ Church as the Washington Parish Burial Ground, the church set aside large portions of land specifically for members of Congress who died in the city while holding office.³ The choice by the Arsenal's Funeral Committee, made up of the women's fellow employees, to use the Congressional Cemetery offered the family members of the deceased an honorary tribute because their deaths had been in the public service. The last coffin in the line of hearses and ambulances was Annie Bache's at the request of her family who, nevertheless, wanted her separated from the others and placed in a vault.⁴ The crowd of mourners increased

¹ The final number is twenty-one. Pinky Scott died three weeks after the fire and was later interred in the Congressional Cemetery. Brian Bergen, "Tragedy at City's Arsenal," *The Washington Times*, 17 May 2008, <<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/may/17/tragedy-at-citys-arsenal/?page=1>> (15 February 2011).

² Because the war was being fought in all the areas surrounding Washington, D.C., in the South and Pennsylvania, the city was fortunate to avoid all major battles.

³ "Congressional Cemetery Historical Information." *United States Department of Veterans Affairs*, 6 January 2011 <<http://www.cem.va.gov/cems/lots/congressional.asp>> (20 February 2011).

⁴ *Washington Star*, "The Funeral of the Victims of the Arsenal Explosion," (June 20, 1864). Annie Bache, according to the newspaper, is said to have been kept to the back of the line and placed in a vault later when, in fact, she was "vaulted" three hours before along with Sallie McElfresh who was buried in a family plot. Today, both Bache and McElfresh are in unmarked, family plots. Although the newspapers stated that Bache was interred in a vault, it was a common practice for family vaults to be sold to other families when the original family "died off" [See Blanche Linden-Ward's *Silent City on a Hill* chapter,

when the coffins arrived at the cemetery and, due to the early attendees who had claimed prime positions hours previously, forced the latecomers to the edges. The fifteen coffins were lowered into two large pits one at a time. To honor these women, the newly formed Monument Committee decided a day after the funeral that a monument should be constructed.⁵ A year later, a monument stood on the spot.

Located in the northwest area of the Congressional Cemetery, the Arsenal Monument designed by Lot Flannery faces south aligning with no other tombstones or funerary obelisks in the cemetery which all face the east (fig. 1-9). It stands at the opposite end of the cemetery from the Congressional Cenotaphs designed by Benjamin Latrobe in 1812 (fig. 10).⁶ Atop a twenty-foot shaft an allegorical figure of Grief stands in a rested contrapposto, clad in a simple peplos belted at her waist. Her hands are clasped below her waist as her head tilts to her right, eyes closed in sorrow, representing the national and familial feelings for the deceased. Weather and time have not been sympathetic towards the carved marble as Grief's face displays streaks of water damage as if she really weeps for the victims. Holly leaves and berries decorate the shaft and capital on which she stands – an evergreen plant whose connotations, perhaps, symbolize the everlasting soul after death. Carved into each of the four sides of the pedestal's

"Grave Problems in Boston," (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 149-166.]; this could explain the discrepancy between the newspaper's account and the dead's current status. Congressional Cemetery docent, Steve Hammond, is working on receiving government funding to provide headstones for the two graves.

⁵ *Washington Star*, "The Explosion Yesterday at the Arsenal; Further Details and Particulars – The Coroner's Inquest," (18 June, 1864).

⁶ "Congressional Cemetery Historical Information,"

<<http://www.cem.va.gov/cems/lots/congressional.asp>>. The exact date as to when the Cenotaphs were first constructed is unknown. Although they are called cenotaphs, implying they represent the deceased that were buried in other locations, the earliest government officials to pass away and be recognized in the Congressional Cemetery were buried underneath them rather than transported back to their home cities. Because of the undeveloped embalming techniques of the time, it was impractical and expensive to transport the bodies across long distances.

cornice are winged hourglasses. Below, on the east and west façades, the twenty-one names of the deceased are listed, though six women were not buried at the site.⁷ The north side states: “Erected by public contribution by the citizens of Washington, D.C. June 17th.” Carved on the pedestal’s south façade, the side Grief peers down on, is a graphic, low relief representation of the Arsenal explosion. Dense smoke seeps from the doors and windows of the building, blocking the majority of the building’s structure from view. An explosion blast disrupts the smoke, indicated by jagged edges and finely carved lines. Beneath the dreadful scene are the words: “Killed by an explosion at the U.S. Arsenal Washington, D.C. June 17th, 1864.” The word “arsenal,” originally misspelled, shows the crude correction of an inserted ‘E.’ The surrounding marble, discolored by time, further enhances the bone-white error.

This monument’s iconography, in many ways, carries on the gendered traditions of private memorializing, but, as a marker of “mass” death, did this tradition still ease the emotional suffering of family and friends? Equally, what did it mean to have a conspicuously tall, vertical object dedicated to women in an otherwise male-dominated public space? This paper will explore these questions, arguing that the Arsenal Monument’s overarching significance is as an object that, rather than breaking down gender divisions, as the commemoration of women’s labor during the war might suggest, instead dismisses female involvement in public service as well as suggests the widening class divisions of the post-war era.

The Washington Arsenal was located on the southern point of land where the Anacostia and Potomac Rivers met, named Greenleaf’s Point. Chosen in 1803, this spot

⁷ See Appendix 4A for a full listing of the women.

offered the Arsenal strong defenses because of the strategic ease of transporting military goods using the nearby waterways. It was, however, not until 1810 that the site was recognized as an official arsenal with a complex of buildings ranging from a powder magazine and a carpenter shop, to a metal smith. (fig. 11-14).⁸ With the War of 1812 and the British invasion in 1814, the Arsenal was destroyed during an attempt to capture the magazine.⁹ Later rebuilt, and completed by 1817, Andrew Villard, in charge of gun carriages, along with the Quartermaster General, headed the Arsenal's construction with explicit instructions to not "use artificers to erect buildings and workshops." The final cost for the complex of eight two-storied brick buildings was \$30,000, paid for by Congress.¹⁰ Eventually, Greenleaf's Point would also house the District Penitentiary (by 1831) and later, in 1862, the Penitentiary would be turned over to the War Department becoming part of the armaments program during the Civil War as the need arose for more production and storage space.¹¹

A short article accompanied a *Harper's Weekly* illustration of the Washington Arsenal in the March 16, 1861, issue describing the activity that surrounded the buildings at this time just a month before Fort Sumter:

In connection with the military movements now proceeding at Washington we publish herewith a view of the Arsenal at that city. It stands on the junction of the eastern branch with the Potomac, and is surrounded on three sides by water. Here are foundries, work-shops, magazines, laboratories, and everything necessary for the manufacture of implements and materials of war. At the present time the Arsenal is a scene of great activity. In front of the Arsenal stand a collection of

⁸ Bohn's *Hand-Book of Washington Illustrated with Engravings of the Public Buildings and the Government Statuary*, 5th ed. (Washington, D.C., 1918), 54-57, and Phyllis I. McClellan, *Silent Sentinel on the Potomac: Fort McNair, 1791-1991* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1993), 9-10.

⁹ McClellan, 12. The barracks were destroyed as well as 20,000 small arms.

¹⁰ Ibid, 13 & 15.

¹¹ David D. Sullivan, "Behind Prison Walls: The Operation of the District Penitentiary, 1831-1862," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* (1971-1972), 244; 262.

foreign brass cannon, some of which are trophies taken in battle at Saratoga, Yorktown, Niagara, and Vera Cruz.¹²

This quote, reassuringly lists previous battle victories and describes for interested readers, primarily middle-class, white men, what the nation's capital was doing to prepare for war as political tensions rose between the United States and the newly self-proclaimed Confederate States of America.¹³ It also provided military enthusiasts a brief, yet thorough account of an important military site and its function should war arise. Arsenals offered an efficient and logical venue for artillery production during the Civil War because of their already designated locations near transport as well as the amount of storage capacity for materials.¹⁴

The Arsenal's female workers, largely a population of young women with a few exceptions of some slightly older, married women, by their employment were breaking the bounds of what was seen as acceptable women's labor. While white middle-class female nurses during the Civil War were, at first, frowned upon for taking on roles exposing them to men's bodies and hard physical labor, nursing evolved in the public perception to hold a degree of domesticity that made it acceptable for middle-class women during a time when the necessary number of men to take on such services was

¹² *Harper's Weekly*, "Arsenal at Washington," 16 March 1861, 173.

¹³ Lorman A. Ratner, Paula T. Kaufman, and Dwight L. Teeter Jr., *Paradoxes of Prosperity: Wealth-Seeking versus Christian Values in Pre-Civil War America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 47-62. This book details the readership of *Harper's Monthly*, the progenitor of *Harper's Weekly*, by discussing who the magazine criticized (Irish immigrants, African Americans) for sabotaging the nation's democratic foundation. Though the source states the an equal amount of men and women read *Harper's*, and therefore printed items that would not have purposely offended women, the magazine was not a supporter of suffrage and saw to it that female-oriented stories advocated for the non-working, stay at home mother and wife.

¹⁴ Although they were convenient, arsenals also became immediate targets during the war. The Confederacy often captured Federal Arsenals, taking the military stores to other locations away from the coast. See Brian Bryant, "Working Women in the Confederate South," (Ph.D. diss, University of Houston, 2008), 78.

dwindling. Signed into existence by Abraham Lincoln near the beginning of the war, the United States Sanitary Commission maintained a support system from the domestic front allowing women to raise money for the Union war effort as well as volunteer in Army camps as nurses and cooks. However, women working at arsenals did not receive the same backing, perhaps due to the inappropriate or undisguised working-class character of the amount of hands-on physical labor needed in an industrial, rather than “bedside,” context. Eventually, defenders of female employment in arsenal settings used women’s “natural” dexterity as evidenced in their sewing as the perfect talent for transferring to “choking” cartridges.¹⁵

Cartridges were not the only forms of artillery being made at the Arsenal but they were what the women were most concerned in making because of their “natural” feminine talents. Made for one of the types of rifles being used during the war, cartridges were a necessity if soldiers were to be able to load their rifles quickly with the correct amount of gunpowder to fire Minié balls, or conical shaped, lead bullets.¹⁶ White working-class women became the dominant manufacturers of cartridges as more men were called away to fight. They placed lead balls in paper tubes water-proofed by wax, filled them with gunpowder, and finally tied the ends closed. Their bosses would supervise the process, making sure the correct measurements were being used as well as firing anyone who was being careless.¹⁷

¹⁵ Bryant, 79.

¹⁶ Ibid, 77.

¹⁷ Brian Bergin, “The Forgotten History,” (unpublished presentation, July 22, 2009. Microsoft PowerPoint file). Before the fire, earlier in the day, the Washington Arsenal’s Chief Pyrotechnist fired a girl who was caught talking and laughing.

The psychological fulfillment women gained from serving their country encouraged them to pursue Arsenal jobs as did the relatively decent pay a woman could earn. Compensation for female cartridge makers in arsenals varied. In the South, an average was \$2 a day, based on experience, but with currency that was exponentially failing due to inflation. After the Richmond, Virginia, Arsenal disaster, on March 13, 1863, many women went on strike for higher pay.¹⁸ Women at the Washington Arsenal were probably paid between forty and seventy-five cents a day with few exceeding \$1.10.¹⁹ Pay for nurses ranged greatly between the Union and Confederacy. While nurses in the South were paid \$25 a month, Sanitary Commission nurses led by Dorothea Dix in the North were paid \$12 a month.²⁰ Equating to nearly seventy cents less than what the women arsenal workers were paid, compensation was the least of Northern nurses' concerns as they truly believed they served a greater cause by providing ailing soldiers bed-side assistance.²¹ Nurses who, at least in the public imagination, became virtuous surrogate mothers and wives at soldiers' bedsides, women arsenal workers became, themselves, war makers and so, as one historian has said, "bodies out of place," who seemed to assert themselves into the realm of men and soldiers.²²

¹⁸ Bryant, 70, 79, 85, 92.

¹⁹ Bergin, "The Forgotten History."

²⁰ Bryant, 7-8. Bryant points out the differences between matrons and nurses who are defined as female caregivers. Southern hospitals were instructed to hire as many nurses as possible probably because they did not assist in any surgeries, therefore, they did not need to be trained. Instead, their purpose was to alleviate the physical and emotional pain of soldiers. Compensation for each month for the various types of matrons was: \$40 for chief matron, \$35 for assistant matron, \$30 for ward matrons. Nina Silber, *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women fight the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 199-200.

²¹ Silber, 199-200.

²² Judith Giesberg, *Army at Home: Women and the Civil War on the Northern Home Front* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 71.

Popular magazine illustrations epitomized the sort of labor hierarchy women confronted. A selection of illustrations from *Harper's Weekly* between the years 1859 and 1862 presents the common perceptions of women's roles. This particular publication more often used illustrations when stories, fictional entertainment or news breaking events matched up with images that had already been produced and were readily available. One illustration usually required more than one artist, each one specializing in a certain motif such as face and hands or architecture, in order to gain the most naturalistic depiction.²³ But if one artist was designated as the main artist, they often inscribed their name into the illustration or were mentioned within the accompanying text as will be seen later with two illustrations signed by Winslow Homer. This selection of illustrations, from a four year time span, was chosen as representative of the typical *Harper's Weekly* publication from before the start of the war through one year past the war's start. In this way, we can see how illustrations changed (or not) in representing women. This sampling can then be representative of the dominant Northern elite's view of working women in comparison to middle-class ones. Even their "factory-style" production corresponds to a taste that demanded such images be produced on a mass-culture scale.

In the September 6, 1862, illustration, "Our Women and the War," a series of vignettes presents the women as purely domestic types (fig.15). Asymmetrically composed, the largest scenes in the foreground pair two different locales but both have older women, one a nun symbolizing charity and the other a motherly letter writer

²³ Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, "Civic Picturing vs. Realist Photojournalism: the Regime of Illustrated News, 1856-1901," *Design Issues* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 2000): 62.

symbolizing home, at the side of bed-ridden soldiers. The assumption that these men are soldiers, and that the scenes are taking place in a hospital, is based not on any details but on the incorporated text that guides the viewer to read the illustration as set outside the home. Centrally positioned and above these two reassuringly familiar and asexual figures, the artist depicts young, attractive women in a social gathering in an interior sewing clothes. A box is labeled “soldier’s shirts” to avoid confusion for the reader. Floating near them to remind them that their labor is in the service of domestic and personal sentiment, and not for remuneration, are romantic tokens including a lock of hair and a daguerreotype. Balancing these delicate beribboned objects is a small vignette of a slim, youthful laundress in action at a camp while an officer supervises. Unlike the other women, the laundress turns away from the reader as she cleans, becoming an anomalous figure and, therefore, unimportant compared to the officer who faces the reader displaying his full formal attire and sword. He leads troops for the greater good of preserving the Union. In all of these images, which combined create a two-page spread for the “Journal of Civilization,” women are shown as helpful in the war effort: sewing clothes, washing clothes and comforting those who are ill or injured. Except for the camp’s laundress, a woman’s place is inside the domestic space, where they control and dominate men who have been identified as vulnerable or in need of care. The laundress is the only one located outside, and, because of this, she requires male supervision. By entering into the male realm, but still carrying on with what women are naturally capable of, she becomes subordinate to the officer and soldier.

According to “Our Women and the War,” the best way a woman can help during war is to continue doing what she does best: household activities even when away from the private home. Another illustration in *Harper’s Weekly*, the June 2, 1861, issue cover, conforms to this mind-set on the domestic war effort (fig.16). “The War – Making Havelocks for the Volunteers,” by Winslow Homer, shows a large group of women sewing together in a sitting room. The detail that identifies this scene as a “war” one is the pile of havelocks, or hats with pieces of fabric sewn onto the back to protect the wearer from sunburn, in the foreground. One havelock is being worn by the woman facing the viewer, mending an officer’s jacket on her lap. By not conveying whether or not military hat-making involves more work than cross-stitching, or any other decorative craft, the illustration is able to project the naturally delicate nature of women within the interior. Even when they are making something to be worn for a future battle, a lady’s grace is innate and even emphasized by the contrast with the rougher masculine forms. If these attributes of war (the various pieces of soldier’s uniforms, a draped American flag, and the framed portrait of a soldier in the upper left corner) had not been included, this illustration would look no different from any other domestic gathering of crafting women. But because these sentimental and patriotic reminders are present, the reader becomes aware that the projects in the hands of these women are not trivial or personal but supportive of men and a greater cause.

Another illustration by Homer further supports this domestic masking of female labor during the war. The cover illustration for the July 20, 1861, issue, captioned as “Filling cartridges at the United States Arsenal, at Watertown, Massachusetts,” presents a

composite of two illustrations separated by crossed bayonets. Both show the same action, filling cartridges, but by two different techniques and genders (fig.17). On top, two rows of women sit around a long rectangular table “choking cartridges” while a male uniformed overseer inspects. Below, just four men sit or stand, not so much at tables as at individual trays, placed there to catch lead balls and gunpowder that may miss being funneled into the paper tubes. While the women sit in orderly rows on long benches, the men sit more informally on boxes and barrels, apparently all as equals, without a supervisor. Visually, the scene for the women is in some ways similar to the previous illustrations. A type of domestic-camouflage has been created within this workshop by the shawls and hats that hang neatly on the wall, softening the hard wooden surface. The only standing woman is hanging up her hat and her gesture and gaze leads the eye to the darker, broad shouldered and hatted form of the ‘boss,’ who inspects one of the cartridges. None of the other women look up from their concentration on the delicate task of using fingers to insert the balls into the narrow tubes. In contrast, like the military supervisor for the women, the men in the lower scene keep their hats on and expose shirtsleeves like artisans. Funnels on the table signify the tools they use instead of fingers. With thread spools visible instead on the women’s working table, their ‘gathering’ resembles a quilting circle, and the jackets they wear – not the rolled up sleeves of the laundress – reinforce their gentility. This illustration attempts to put back into place bodies that were out of place by highlighting their continued subordination to the male supervisor, as was seen previously with the working-class laundress, while avoiding affording them the individuality male workers were able to maintain.²⁴

²⁴ Giesberg furthers this discussion of separate spheres in the arsenal setting, pages 75-76.

One final set of illustrations involves the popular fashion of dress that many women, including the U.S. Arsenal workers, were wearing at mid-century. *Harper's Weekly* of February 19, 1859, had an article titled "Employment of Women." Its accompanying illustrations present different scenes of women working in the "W.S. & C.H. Thomson's Skirt Manufactory" (fig.18). The number of female workers' figures doubles as they handle and mass-produce hoop skirts for future wearers and display the voluminous skirts as well. In the lower illustration, the women sit and stand in ordered rows either at sewing machines, in front of the hoops, or in small groups to hand-sew (with similar bent postures as the previously mentioned "Havelocks" illustration). The two smaller images in the upper corners of the page highlight and magnify the lower scene. The article states that this factory will not only produce thousands of "indestructible" hoopskirts but also employ one thousand women with a pay of between \$4 and \$16 a week. *Harper's* touts this company as providing for women who have dependents to care for and that the factory, despite the foolish fashion it produces, is not a "wholly useless" institution because of the greater good of the families being kept in mind by these women workers as well as the continuing reminder to them to "Strive to Excel."²⁵ *Harper's* again reassures its readers that any women entering this industrial environment will still be within a patriarchal, or paternal, structure as the manufacturer intends to build a library and hold lectures for the employees, though the illustration itself does not show a male supervisor in this female-dominated space.

But the hoopskirt itself became a joke. "Hoops and Combustion," from *Harper's* March 30, 1861, issue illustrates the type of humor aimed at the mid-century fashion

²⁵ *Harper's Weekly*, "Employment for Women" (19 February 1859): 125.

(fig.19). According to the cartoon, hoopskirts present the possibility of spontaneous combustion when in close proximity to an attractive beau. If the need had arisen, the suitor need only smother the flames with the “patented extinguisher.” The cartoon heavily-handedly suggests women’s incapability of controlling themselves emotionally in comparison to the man who is able to respond quickly in the face of danger with his available tools. Though meant to be in the context of other “Humors of the Day,” or satires of contemporary follies that *Harper’s* published, the mixing of fire with fashion took a literal turn at the Washington D.C. Arsenal. Discussed below, the hoopskirts worn by many of the cartridge makers at the Arsenal hindered their ability to work under conditions similar to that of men. What necessitated their continuing to wear fashionable dress even in an industrial setting that held the real possibility of combustion? Though socially unacceptable to allow women to wear pants, even for practicality’s sake, wearing the dress and hoopskirt both upheld female subordination by signifying their incompetence as artisans and maintained their class status as genteel inhabitants of a domesticated workplace.

Though perhaps it was not the main reason for this choice, the columnar and classically straight robe of Grief on the Arsenal Monument was a garment that avoided all associations with the contemporary fashion linked to the high death toll. But the choice of classical dress also served to continue a tradition of utilizing classical female figures to convey abstract concepts. Because Grief is an allegorical figure, a personification, she does not wear the contemporary fashions of the Arsenal workers. But

her neo-classical costume also may have kept her as an ideal of femininity distant from visitors to the grave today as well as in the nineteenth century.²⁶

Perhaps not initially, but eventually, great care was given to prevent any and all possible sparks that could lead to explosions in arsenals.²⁷ By the time of the Washington Arsenal's incident, such disasters were not uncommon.²⁸ Arsenal workers took precautions inside the cartridge rooms, but in this case the catalyst for the Washington fire occurred outside. Thomas B. Brown, the Arsenal "Pyrotechnist," or the one in charge of fireworks and rockets, as well as the superintendent who oversaw the cartridge makers, had set white star fireworks out to dry on the morning of June 17th near the southwest corner of the facility. Around noon, due to the intense summer heat, the fireworks ignited, sending sparks into the Arsenal's window where the women were producing cartridges, the so-called Choking Room.²⁹ Surprisingly, no men died. Earlier that day, Brown had fired a female worker for laughing and talking but it is not known where he was at the time of the explosion.³⁰ From this, it is clear that *Harper's* Watervliet Arsenal with its prominent depiction of the presence of a supervisor in the cartridge rooms was intended to be a reassurance to families considering women's war employment rather than an

²⁶ See Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), chapter 4, "Engendered Images," 63-87. Because allegories function as metaphor, viewers of allegory are never viewing a woman, or in rare cases a man, so much as a stand-in for the abstract idea being represented. In the case of the Arsenal Monument, the figure is not a grieving woman but Grief embodied.

²⁷ Bryant, 81. In his dissertation, Bryant states that Confederate Arsenals were inspected in order to reduce the fear that unsafe practices were happening in the working environment ("men with nailed sole boots walking over spilled gunpowder"). Though it was reported in a *Richmond Dispatch*, July 13, 1861 article that only spontaneous combustion would create an explosion in the Richmond Arsenal because of its strict safety precautions, an explosion occurred shortly after the printing.

²⁸ Allegheny, PA, 17 September 1862; Jackson, MS, 5 November 1862; Richmond, VA, 13 March, 1863; Watervliet, NY & Washington D.C. 17 June 1864.

²⁹ *Washington Star*, "The Explosion Yesterday at the Arsenal; Further Details and Particulars – The Coroner's Inquest," (18 June, 1864).

³⁰ Bergin, "The Forgotten History."

accurate description. Brown would later be tried for and found guilty of “gross negligence.”³¹

The *Washington Star*’s printing on June 18, 1864, of the “Coroner’s Inquest,” details the aftermath of the fire and identifies the deceased, but also presents a theory as to why certain victims were burnt worse than others. The coroner believed that it was the metal hoop skirts worn by most of the women that “caged” them and “afforded facilities for the flames to fasten upon them with fatal effect.” As a result, some bodies were “crisped quite bloodless.”³² The sensationalism, or the outrageous details that the newspapers printed detailing the aftermath of the Arsenal fire is typical of the Civil War era and it has been described as a realist discourse.³³ Other gruesome details mentioned, apart from the crispy remains, included how boxes were used at the site to collect small body parts. But along with such grotesque details, the newspapers were also known for their emotionalism, by putting in personal responses to the sight: “With tears and sobs the relatives moved around the platform, anxiously looking for the remains of their loved ones, and when they were able to single out the coffin containing the body searched for, the distress was most painful.”³⁴ This description fits romantic, Victorian notions of sentimentalism that will be discussed in more depth later with mourning images.³⁵

The realism and emotionalism of newspaper accounts illustrates how the arsenal’s explosion impacted civilians. It was a disaster not caused by an enemy but by an accident

³¹ Giesberg, 89.

³² *Washington Star*, Saturday, June 18, 1864, “The Explosion Yesterday at the Arsenal, Further Details and Particulars – The Coroner’s Inquest; The Inquest.”

³³ Michael Barton, “Journalistic Gore: Disaster Reporting and Emotional Discourse in the *New York Times*, 1852-1956,” in *An Emotional History of the United States*, ed. Peter N. Stearns and Jan Lewis (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 161.

³⁴ *Washington Star*, Monday, June 20, 1864, “The Funeral of the Victims of the Arsenal Explosion.”

³⁵ Barton, 159. He also categorizes this deep reflection of loss as Dionysianism.

of war at home. At the funeral, newspapers described sisters fainting besides coffins and parents demanding one last glimpse of their beloved child. There was a definite need then to assuage this public outcry. The Arsenal Monument, raised only a year after the internment, was the answer. Like the newspapers, the carved marble is a mix of realism and romanticism. The realism is represented by the relief depicting the shocking explosion and wafting smoke and the allegory, embodying sentimental and romantic ideals, does not correspond with the deceased women so much as the abstract emotions felt by the public on that seventeenth day of June.

The ages of the women ranged from the oldest, Rebecca Hull, at 40 years old, to the youngest, Sallie McElfresh, 12 years old. Pinky Scott, at 31 years, was a widow with two children.³⁶ Not much information is available to give full biographies of each woman but generalizations can be made by taking instances from other arsenals to understand who these women may have been. At the Allegheny Arsenal in Pennsylvania, fathers who held positions there tended to arrange for their daughters to also work there allowing them to keep an eye on the young women.³⁷ Women who were poor also sought work at arsenals and were hired as long as they were capable of keeping up with fast-paced production. Middle and upper-class women also worked, in some accounts in order to donate their earnings to places like hospitals, a narrative that allowed class divisions to disappear temporarily in the workplace.³⁸ Whether these women were settled U.S. citizens or immigrants is impossible to know for sure but looking at how the draft was extended to newly-arrived male immigrants in the North to fill the need for soldiers, the

³⁶ Brian Bergin, "The Forgotten History."

³⁷ Giesberg, 71.

³⁸ Bryant, 80.

same conditions might apply for industrial work. As long as the individual understood the task, or spoke English enough to understand the safety measures, and were capable of handling production, there seems to have been no reason to discriminate if there were open positions.

The day after the fire, on Saturday, the 4 o'clock edition of the *Washington Star* reported that a meeting of Arsenal employees was held. The meeting continued the following Monday, the day after the funeral, headed by John Dudley who was unanimously elected chair. John Dudley's position at the Arsenal was not specified in any news coverage of the fire but he and other men (laborers, soldiers, and clerks) ran to the building immediately upon hearing of the fire, and, risking their own safety, retrieved bodies from the burning Arsenal.³⁹ Dudley was also the original voice in favor of raising a monument for the women when the funeral was being planned, at which he was selected to be Chief Marshall during the obsequies.⁴⁰

A Monument Committee, separate from the committee that arranged the funeral, formed to begin soliciting contributions from private citizens. Their first official meeting was the day after the funeral on Monday, June 20.⁴¹ The committee was comprised of men, each member being a representative of the different departments of the Arsenal from clerks to blacksmiths.⁴² They were successful in their goal because, according to a

³⁹ Bergin, "The Forgotten History."

⁴⁰ *Washington Star*, "Further of the explosion – More of the Bodies Recognized – Preparations for Interment," (18 June, 1864, 2nd edition, 4 o'clock).

⁴¹ *Washington Star*, "Meeting of the Employees of the Arsenal," (20 June, 1864).

⁴² Ibid. Clerks--F. Whyte; Machinists--Jon. W. Stahl; Blacksmiths--J.R. King; Tinnners--J.A. Birch; Carpenters and Carriage-Makers--Geo. Z. Collison; Armorers--John Stahl; Painters--James Barry; Saddlers--W.H. Toppin; Laborers--L. Campbell; Laboratory--Andrew Cox.

small insert in a San Francisco newspaper, \$3,000 was raised after only two months.⁴³ Significantly, as an all-male committee, this group differed from later monument committees that erected Common Soldier and Sailor Monuments after the war. Those later Committees, though usually a mix of men and women, were often led by women as the main proponents of the memorial because of their new cultural positions as widows and mothers of deceased sons. The Arsenal Monument Committee, which was memorializing women who were working outside of their homes and away from their families, seem to have acted from a sense of the “brotherhood” of labor rather than from the familial sentiments behind the commissioning of public Common Soldier Monuments.

Arsenal disasters occurred in the North and the South with death tolls numbering from a few to over one hundred. These dangerous work conditions disturbed paternal caregivers too, something that may also be represented in the immediate response from men near the explosion and the quickly formed, male Monument Committee. To heads of households, that these women needed to work outside the home for financial reasons reflected poorly on their role as patriarchs. These women, killed in the course of the “Rich Man’s War” appeared, even worse, to be unprotected. Perhaps raising a monument then became one last effort to demonstrate paternal and social care for the daughters, sisters and wives whose lives had been lost to federal negligence.⁴⁴ As noted previously, *Harper’s Weekly’s* praised Thomson’s Skirt Manufactory for its ability to care for the

⁴³ See Appendix 3A.

⁴⁴ *Washington Star*, “Meeting of the Employees of the Arsenal,” (20 June, 1864). There is a very good chance that women were involved in raising funds for the Monument because the war was still going on and the number of available men was dwindling. Unfortunately, there is no available evidence to state otherwise. The *Washington Star* mentions only the men Arsenal employees.

women working under their employ beyond merely distributing wages. This is telling of how important it was for both private businesses and the government to treat women as dependents in a family rather than solely as “employees.” Women were assumed to be incapable of taking care of themselves in the workplace and so it was important for public employers and private businesses to demonstrate benevolence towards the more vulnerable sex, thereby reaffirming their dependence.

The decision where the deceased would be buried continues the paternalist vein of the Committee’s effort to honor the lost lives of the women arsenal workers. The Congressional Cemetery seemed fitting because all twenty-one women were working under government employ and died in the name of preserving the Union, in a manner strikingly similar to soldiers on the battlefield. But unlike soldiers, who would eventually be buried in newly formed federal cemeteries with the specific intentions of holding both unidentified and identified fallen soldiers, the Arsenal employees were buried in an already formed cemetery. On the day after the explosion, at the first gathering of Arsenal employees, a Committee unrelated to the Monument Committee was formed to settle burial arrangements which included choosing the Congressional Cemetery as the site for internment. Also decided was that “every man connected with the Arsenal contribute one day’s pay to defray expenses” for the funeral.⁴⁵ This statement of brotherhood and union in labor seems to be a direct response to the errors of a male supervisor that ended in the

⁴⁵ *Washington Star*, “Further of the explosion – More of the Bodies Recognized – Preparations for Interment,” (18 June, 1864, 2nd edition, 4 o’clock). This article creates a little confusion regarding funeral expenses because in the *Washington Star*’s article covering the funeral (“The Funeral of the Victims of the Arsenal Explosion,” 20 June 1864), the newspaper included an order, or letter, from Secretary of War Edwin Stanton stating that the Government would cover all costs related to the funeral and internment. The question, then, is what happened to the Arsenal employees’ donations?

death of the women. However, masculinity and paternity was restored by the construction of a monument that took on domestic traits and traditions, even when placed in a male-dominated and historically honorable cemetery designed to acknowledge individuals' public service.

By August of 1864, the Monument Committee raised \$3,000 and news of such a success stretched across the nation to San Francisco.⁴⁶ The next step, then, was to find someone to produce a monument. A small newspaper article advertised a call for submissions of sculpture designs along with a few guidelines that the monument must follow.⁴⁷ The winner of the design competition was Lot Flannery.

Not much is known of Flannery. What is known of his career follows the typical sequence of mid to late-nineteenth-century sculptors in the United States.⁴⁸ He owned a business with his brother, Martin, named Flannery Brothers Marble Manufacturers. It would later become the firm of Flannery and Phillipson. His artisanal business was successful in Washington D.C. as he was given various commissions such as creating the first sculpture of Abraham Lincoln after his assassination as well as being contracted to work on the Capitol building's marble terrace (fig. 20).⁴⁹ Unfortunately, his built up reputation from midcentury seems to have declined and even come to a halt in 1890 when he lost a design competition for an equestrian statue of General John A. Logan in the Iowa Circle, now Logan Circle, in Washington D.C.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See Appendix 3A.

⁴⁷ See Appendix 3B.

⁴⁸ Joy S. Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990): 6-7.

⁴⁹ See Appendix 2B.

⁵⁰ The statue that stands there now was completed by Franklin Simmons. Academically trained, Simmons moved his working studio to Rome three years after the Civil War making frequent visits back to the U.S.

The decision by Flannery to design a memorial that brings together allegory and realism is a significant characteristic of the Arsenal Monument. Allegories representing public virtues like Justice or Liberty were more common and traditional motifs than personifications of emotional pain. But Grief, as an embodied abstraction, does continue a long and popular mode of personification in memorializing imagery. Representations of Grief in emblem books, like Caesar Ripa's *Iconologia*, a resource used by artists to create a visual vernacular language, show and describe Grief as a melancholic, nude male who wears manacles while a serpent gnaws his side (fig. 21).⁵¹ Rather than such academic sources, Flannery seems to have turned instead to early nineteenth-century mourning imagery which featured grieving female figures in modern fashions (fig. 22 & 23).

American memorial images, whether printed, embroidered or water colored, spiked in popularity from the end of the eighteenth century to the early part of the nineteenth century. Women often copied established commemorative patterns and scenes as a way to learn how to embroider or paint. The typical iconography comprised a monument, or tomb, that may have included a classical funerary urn on top, a willow tree, and finally one or more women.⁵² The lone woman was the most common template in these images because she helped convey emotion due to her lesser, flawed nature of not being able to control her own emotions. If a man was included, he would be accompanying the woman and was never alone in the image nor, as the more "objective"

His style may have fit the Logan Monument Committee's tastes by the end of the century by incorporating training that Flannery was unable to offer.

⁵¹ Caesar Ripa, *Iconologia or Moral Emblems* (London: Motte, 1709), 25.

⁵² Blanch Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), chapter 5, "An American Sensibility to Melancholy."

sex, did he become the primary victim of sorrow (fig. 24).⁵³ In this image, *Memorial for George Washington* from 1840, the man turns away, perhaps to mask the possibility of his emotion, while the woman leans against George Washington's tomb weeping openly into her handkerchief. Here the dichotomy between women and men, emotion and logic, is again offered but now in the context of acknowledging public service. Anita Schorsch connects the boom in the popularity of mourning images with the death of George Washington. Mourning pictures for the first president showed women representing various civic virtues lamenting over Washington's tomb, which became a national symbol of patriotism and the good Christian citizen.⁵⁴ By the 1830s, Laverne Muto says that the memorial images faded with the decline of Romanticism.⁵⁵

The Arsenal Monument, constructed in 1865, revitalized memorial motifs by presenting the same forms that were common in those types of images. The female figure usually shown mourning beside the tomb is, instead, placed on top. Because she is physically part of the monument, there is no need for her to touch it in recognition and lamentation of the deceased. Such figures of Grief were female, but in this Monument she also might appear to stand as a representative for the dead women. However, she does not wear contemporary fashion like the hoop skirt. Instead, a loose fitting dress belted at the waist creates a cascade effect of fabric folds and layers. Her neo-classical dress and features assist in the visitor's understanding that this monument is not triumphant or

⁵³ Laverne Muto, "A Feminist Art – The American Memorial Picture," *Art Journal* 35, no. 4 (Summer 1976): 352-54 and Anita Schorsch, "Key to the Kingdom: The Iconography of a Mourning Picture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1976): 63.

⁵⁴ Schorsch, "Key to the Kingdom," 41 and 60 and Anita Schorsch, "Mourning Art: A Neoclassical Reflection," *American Art Journal* 8, no. 1 (May 1976): 12.

⁵⁵ Muto, 358.

individual but emblematic of sorrow. As well as channeling or representing visitors' sorrow, her presence encourages visitors to touch the monument instead. In this way, the Arsenal Monument helps visitors re-enact the Romantic rituals of mourning by displaying their own feeling towards the dead. The Monument almost becomes the physical embodiment of the older sentimental images. At the same time, the realistic iconography Flannery included on the base communicates the deceased's courage, sacrifice, and patriotism.

The Arsenal Monument's south-facing relief on the pedestal, a graphic depiction of the Arsenal's explosion, far from being symbolic and in keeping with the allegory, includes a style of representation as associated with men as the ideal, classicized, allegorical personification was with women. As a monument located in the Congressional Cemetery, but built to honor women, Flannery achieved legibility by joining ideals: one referring to private emotion and not public, the other to public heroism rather than private life. A public monument to women at mid-century needed to be marked as different from men's but, at the same time, maintain the masculine ideals suited for memorial structures in a civic space.

Similar issues arose later in the century when commemorating African Americans who sacrificed their lives for the greater good. Augustus Saint-Gaudens' 1884-1897 *Shaw Memorial* includes an angelic allegorized figure whose classically draped female form flies above a realistic scene of marching African American troops. In *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, Kirk Savage notes Saint-Gaudens' difficulty in deciding whether or not to depict African American troops and if so, how realistically. To not have them present

was not an option because Robert Gould Shaw's heroism was defined by his leadership of these troops. The question, then, became how to situate the real (understood as African Americans) with the ideal (understood as restricted to whites) in commemorating a white hero's deeds?⁵⁶ Savage's answer involved the compositional hierarchy, or Saint-Gaudens' choosing to realistically depict individual African Americans marching alongside Shaw, rather than behind or below, him, allowing the allegorical female above the men to represent the heroic ideal.

Though not an issue of race so much as gender, the Arsenal Monument shares a similar formal structure. An allegorical figure atop the monument looks down on the relief of a realistic and individualized scene. But unlike the *Shaw Memorial*, where the allegory of peace and remembrance is a supplement to the male portraits below, the Arsenal Monument's lone figure replaces the need to depict an individual woman. In this respect, the layout of the Monument resembles the standardized Common Soldiers Monument (fig. 25). The standing soldier motif that graced so many Civil War memorials up to the turn of the century represented the common man who had earned his masculinity by submitting himself to military service and by experiencing war.⁵⁷ Though these memorials are similar to the Arsenal's in their standardization or generic symbolism rather than functioning as a celebration of individuals like Shaw, the Arsenal Monument still remains isolated and difficult to fit into even this pattern of Civil War memorialization. Unlike the Common Soldiers Monuments where masculinity is celebrated in part by the very standardization of the soldiers' form, echoing the common

⁵⁶ Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 192-207.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 169 & 177.

military service of all men for whom they stand, the Arsenal Monument is, instead, cautious in acknowledging the femininity of those it commemorates. As with the allegory in the *Shaw Memorial*, the female figure is not supposed to relate to the deceased by its gender. If that were its function, a male figure would be present instead. Rather, the Arsenal Monument's diffidence about and avoidance of acknowledging the war service of individuals, other than by putting their names on the pedestal, changes the focus from the deceased women's contribution to, instead, the public's grief over a terrible accident.

Much later, another memorial to women was erected in a cemetery in the aftermath of a factory fire. The Triangle Fire Memorial to the Unknowns is located at the Cemetery of the Evergreens in Brooklyn, New York, and though built nearly fifty years later, continued the tradition of including a classical figure in a memorial (fig. 26). A rectangular marble slab exhibits an engraved neo-classical figure kneeling beside a funerary urn. The drapery from her body covers the urn and she uses the gathered folds to cover her face in mourning. Below her the dedicatory words describing the purpose of the monument relay a message to future visitors that buried beneath are the graves of unidentified women and children. In a recent article, "Remembering the Unknowns," Ellen Wiley Todd describes the failed safety reforms that led to the fire in the Shirtwaist factory in 1911 killing 146 women and children.⁵⁸ The fire was seen as an embarrassment to both reformers and to society at large (for its failure to regulate industry) as newspapers tried to blame someone for the disaster. Seven still unidentified bodies were buried in Evergreens Cemetery with the Memorial, whose relief was carved by Evelyn

⁵⁸ Ellen Wiley Todd, "Remembering the Unknowns: The Longman Memorial and the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Fire," *American Art* 23, no. 3 (2009): 62-63.

Beatrice Longman. Longman received her training from the Art Institute of Chicago under the mentorship of Lorado Taft.⁵⁹ She was appointed as the memorial sculptor and commissioned by Robert W. de Forest on behalf of the Red Cross Emergency Relief Committee, a branch of the Charity Organization Society, an elite middle-class organization. It was quietly erected a year and a half after the fire without an unveiling ceremony. While factory owners and opponents of labor laws might not have wished to memorialize the dead in a practice that revisited the monument, labor leaders refused to overlook the past and have the memory be forgotten to history. Not until the fire's fiftieth anniversary, however, was an annual commemoration service initiated starting at the site of the fire and ending at the Memorial with the purpose of detailing continuing efforts to better working conditions.⁶⁰

Todd argues that the monument's relatively remote location from the immigrant communities that the women came from as well as its classical iconography "failed to signify for the communities it memorialized."⁶¹ The classically styled figure who mourns over an urn covered in drapery is exemplary of elite Anglo-Protestant ideals of the dignified mourner rather than a choice based on the styles or imagery closest to or most familiar to the women's families.⁶² The factory workers and their families, largely Jewish and Italian immigrants, further took insult at the monument being on the edge of the cemetery, because of Jewish traditions of reserving this marginal area for the poor and

⁵⁹ Ibid, 68.

⁶⁰ Todd, 79. Todd doesn't explicitly say why the tradition started at the fiftieth anniversary. She does mention a book on the fire that would be published a year later in 1962.

⁶¹ Ibid, 64.

⁶² Ibid, 75.

criminal.⁶³ Some interpreted its location as an additional attempt to sweep memory of the disaster under the proverbial rug. For that matter, classicism in 1913 did not retain the same symbolic power as in the nineteenth century, when in the wake of George Washington it still denominated public service and honor.

The Longman Memorial to the Triangle fire victims and the Arsenal Monument, are similar to each other in that they commemorate women's lives lost while outside a familial or domestic role, but the motivations behind each of their creations were completely different. Todd suggests that the Longman Memorial was a public relations endeavor by an elite charity group aimed at appeasing immigrant anger and preventing it from taking the form of an attack on American economic and legal systems. The force that drove the Arsenal Monument's construction was somewhat more sincere and sentimental. Its construction came about during an era when Neo-classicism was believed to truly represent "genderless" universals and when allegories were standard in private mourning iconography. In order for a successful monument to be built to public women, Flannery, like *Harper's*, reinserted them into a domestic place.

Disturbingly, the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire seems to repeat the lack of concern for workers, especially women workers, evidenced by the Washington Arsenal and all the other arsenal explosions during the Civil War. The question, then, is why only forty-six years after the end of the Civil War could another disaster involving women working under similar conditions as the Washington Arsenal happen? A discrepancy, of course, is the difference between public and private sectors of employment and the yet-to-be-

⁶³ Ibid, 64.

federally regulated industrial labor conditions. But in terms of public memory, the answer to this failure to act must in part involve the location of the Arsenal Monument.

Because the Arsenal Monument is situated in a cemetery, unless one is aware of the story, a visitor will believe the Monument is a tombstone, like any other private memorial. For the monument to have had public impact, it should have been placed in a location more central to the community, similar to where future Common Soldiers monuments would be placed (in city parks, frequently, sites that emphasized the governments' role in commemorating and benefitting its citizens), or at Greenleaf's Point near the site of the disaster. Though the Congressional Cemetery was viewed as an honorable site for a funeral for women in the public service, among memorial tombstones and obelisks to men in a cemetery, the monument lost its public character, especially for those who did not have a personal connection to the women.

Further, one must ask why all the women aren't buried at the Monument. If being buried in the Congressional Cemetery with funeral costs all paid for by the Federal Government and having a monument erected in the name of commemoration and honor of the dead was not sufficient inducement, why wasn't it? What was the need for private ceremonies and burials in other locations? One of the questions posed at the beginning of this paper was whether or not the Monument was successful in alleviating the suffering of family members. Because not all of the deceased are present in the Congressional Cemetery, the answer must be no. Perhaps the reason why the government offered to cover the mass funeral expenses was because the families of some of the women were unable to themselves. But if the Federal Government did not pay for separate private

funerals, to have one would have marked the women as different, whether upper class or Catholic. For the four women buried in Mount Olivet, a private Roman Catholic cemetery, and the two in other locations in the Congressional Cemetery, this physical separation may be a literal separation based on class and religion despite the possible bonding that may have happened as they worked together and with men in the public service at the Arsenal. For upper-class families, it may have been more important to maintaining that position mourn in private and preserve a private identity than to display female labor or civic virtue. Similarly, though with different effects for the Arsenal workers whose families may have been too poor for private funerary services, the government action may have elevated their status in society. In either case, it was the women's gentility, their class position, that was most significant, not their labor or public role.

The need to memorialize is a phenomenon that stretches back for thousands of years. Monuments serve as markers on earth, to not just honor the deceased, but also to serve as reminders for modern viewers of the past and the events that led up to a monument's existence. But once a monument outlives the lives of those who had first-hand experience and connection with what that monument represents, what becomes of the memory of the memorializing object? For the Arsenal Monument, specifically, it faded into the area it stands in and, assimilated as a tombstone, lost its original meaning. Monuments better known and easily seen, like the Common Soldiers Monuments, act as constant reminders of the Civil War for society thereby creating an artificial memory. The artificiality of these shared memories is due to the fact that no one is capable of

remembering this period of history so much as *knowing* that it happened. While history books acknowledge and record historical events by informing readers with facts and timelines, monuments present the visual proof of history. For example, the Arsenal Monument's construction was due to the explosion caused by drying fireworks that were meant to be used in a Civil War battle. Unlike written records that show names next to numbers, the Arsenal Monument presents an image to create an association between the women's personal identities and the event itself. As a way to rectify the endangerment of women during a time when the feminine was highly defined and separated from the masculine, a visitor to the Monument might be able to see that its existence is due to a sentimental attempt to memorialize private individuals and at the same time acknowledge an accident of war. In a way, monuments are more real than words written about the past because they are products of that past.

The Arsenal Monument, built to commemorate twenty-one women who died in a tragedy that could have been prevented, is an object that attempts to generate a memory that transcends generations by using traditions of private memorialization. A visitor who sees the allegory of Grief in conjunction with the Arsenal's explosion engraved on the base understands that the disaster created a great emotional loss to families and fellow workers on June 17th, 1864. What was not taken into careful account in building the memorial was the location. That the Monument is situated in a cemetery, a space closed off with walls and gates, presents an environment that hints at restricted access although the Congressional Cemetery is a public space where people are allowed to visit freely. Perhaps an intentional act, the decision to erect the monument to women in a secluded

area rather than a more prominent space means that the monument is unable to represent an artificial memory for future generations because it is not in an area where it can be a constant reminder of the past. Because there were six women buried separately from the mass burial, the Monument could have been constructed outside the Cemetery as a cenotaph with all the women buried in their own private graves. Instead, the Monument is a cenotaph and tombstone hybrid. With the soon-to-be popular manufacture of the Common Soldiers Monuments for public civic locations, the Arsenal Monument serves as a bridge between old traditions of private commemoration and a broader, more public memorializing of the new mass deaths of civilians and soldiers that modern war and technology brought.



Figure 1 Lot Flannery, Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument, marble, 1865, acquired from dcMemorials.com.



Figure 2 Lot Flannery, Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail: Grief, marble, 1865, acquired from dcMemorials.com.



Figure 3 Lot Flannery, Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail: Grief, marble, 1865, acquired from dcMemorials.com.



Figure 4 Lot Flannery, Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail: Grief, marble, 1865, acquired from dcMemorials.com.



Figure 5 Lot Flannery, Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument, marble, 1865, acquired from dcMemorials.com.

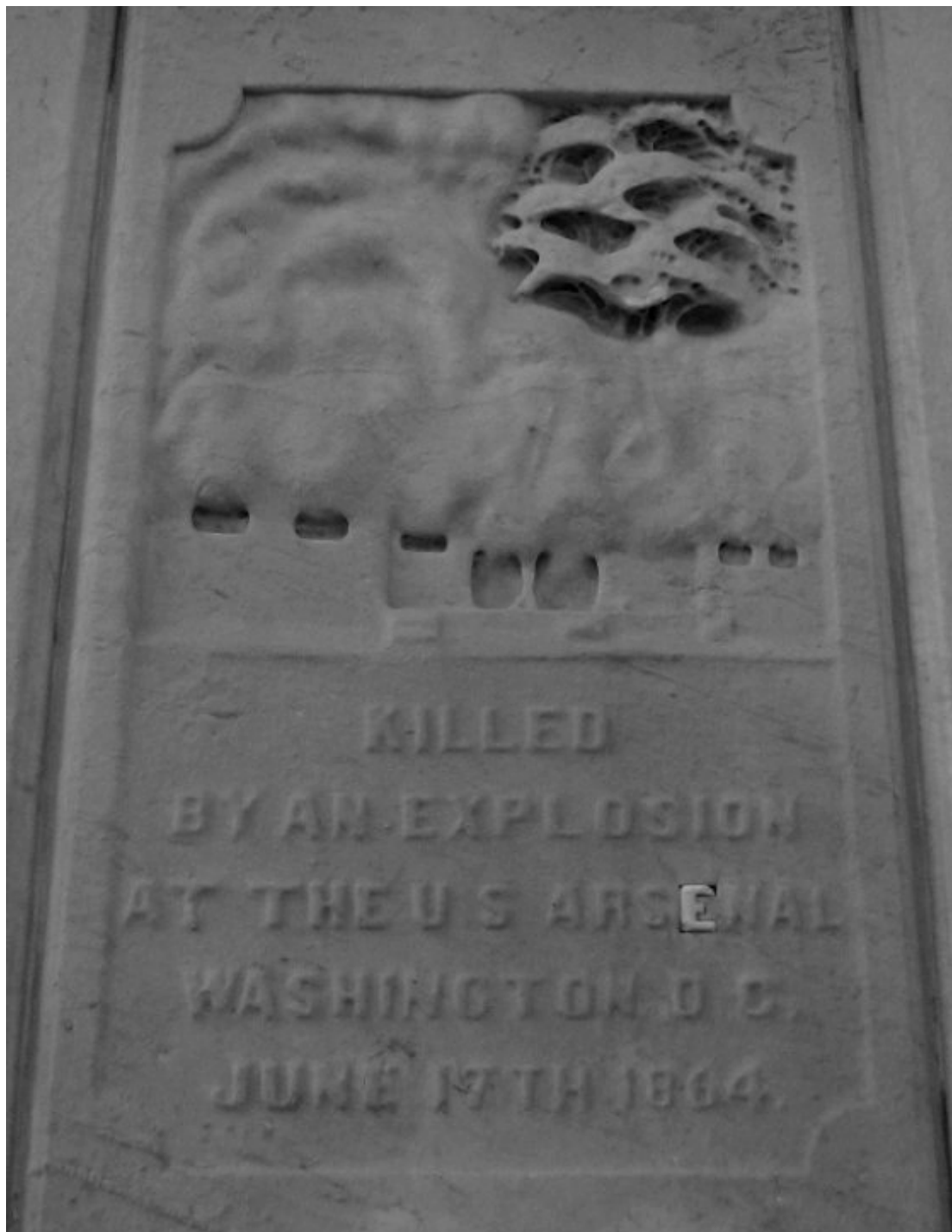


Figure 6 Lot Flannery, Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail: south side of base, explosion relief, marble, 1865, acquired from dcMemorials.com.



Figure 7 Lot Flannery, Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail: west side of base, marble, 1865, acquired from dcMemorials.com.



Figure 8 Lot Flannery, Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail: east side, marble, 1865, acquired from dcMemorials.com.

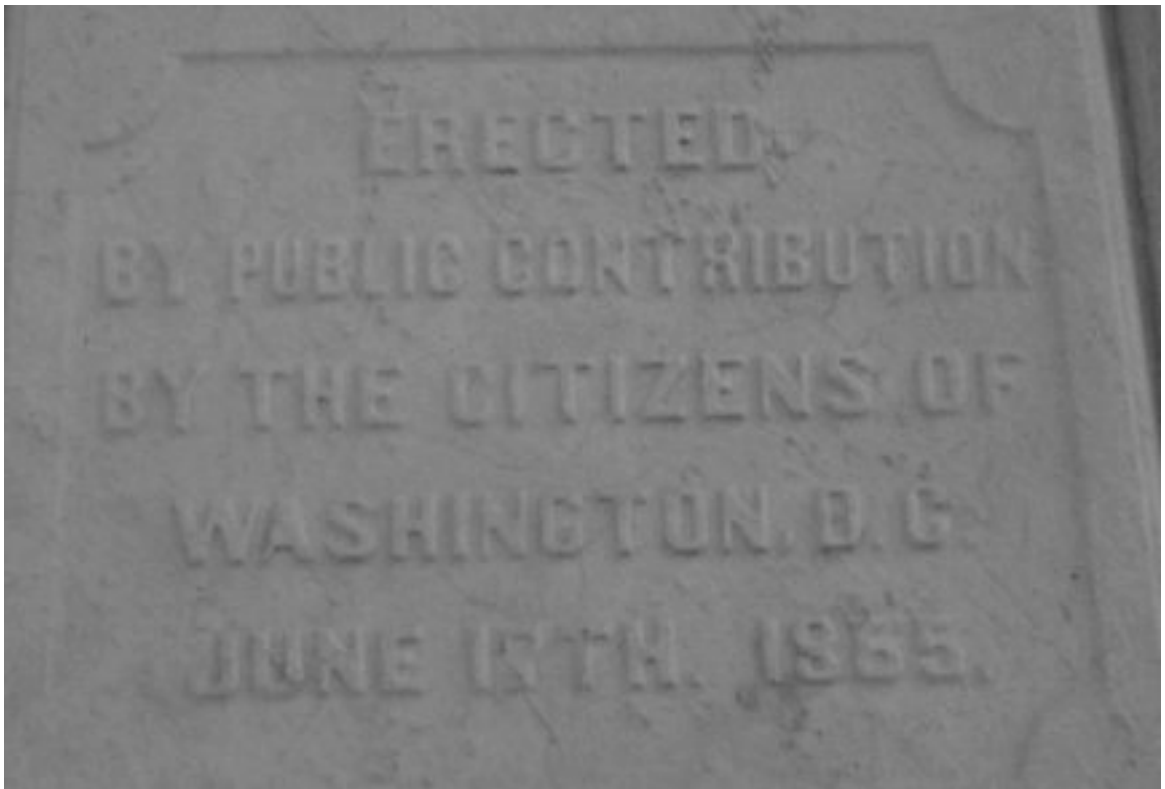


Figure 9 Lot Flannery, Washington D.C. Arsenal Monument, detail: north side of base, marble, 1865, acquired from dcMemorials.com.

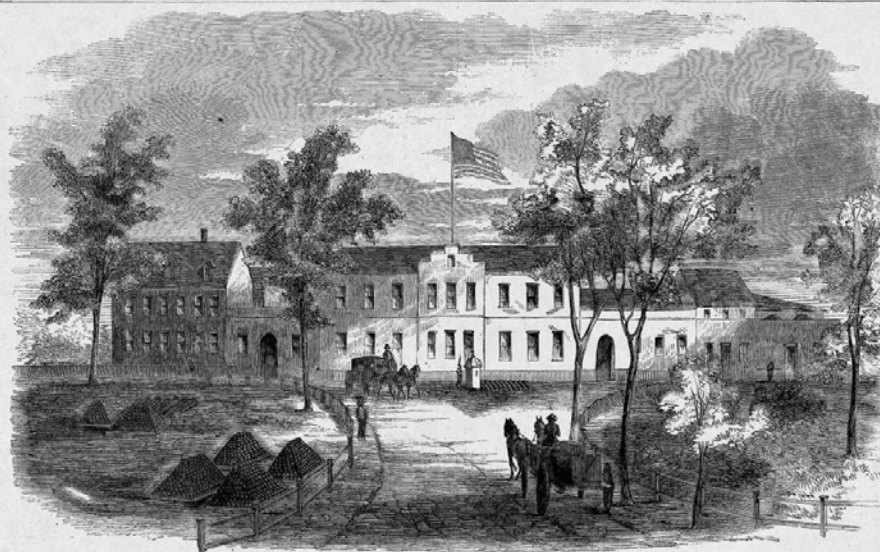


Figure 10 Benjamin Latrobe, Congressional Cenotaphs, sandstone, ca. 1812, acquired from <http://www.cem.va.gov/cems/lots/congressional.asp>.

MARCH 16, 1861.]

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

173



THE WASHINGTON ARSENAL.

THE FORTS IN TEXAS.

We publish on page 172, from views furnished by a draftsman in the employ of the General Government, pictures of the three principal forts in Texas, which, according to the latest advices, have just been surrendered by General Twiggs to the secedists. In connection with the event, we may mention that one of the last acts of the late Administration was the dismissal of General Twiggs from the army for treason.

FORT DAVIS, the headquarters of the Eighth Infantry, is on the San Antonio and San Diego rail route. It is situated in a canon of the Lyons Mountains, 120 miles from the City of Pecos del Norte, on the Rio Grande, and about 500 miles from San Antonio, Texas. It is in the midst of the country of the Mesquero Apaches; and the garrison at different times has done good service in checking the Comanches in their plundering expeditions into Mexico, and chastising the Apaches for their thieving propensities. The scenery here is very beautiful; the limestone rocks which form the sides of the canon tower up 500 or 600 feet. It is not known yet whether the Texas troops have made any demonstration on this post.

FORT ARBUCKLE, which is said to have been recently seized by the Texas troops, protects the northern frontier of that State from the forays of the Comanches. It is situated on the Indian Reserve, and is, or was, garrisoned by detachments from the First Cavalry and one company First Infantry regiments. It is named after the late General Arbuckle, of the army. Captain Price commands the post; Captain Sacket, Captain Beal, First-Lieutenants Stockton, Crittenden, and Powell, Second-Lieutenants Olfert and Fish compose the Staff.

FORT WACHITA, situated on the Reserve, sixty miles southwesterly from Arbuckle, at latest data was also said to have been seized by the Texas troops. It was, or is, garrisoned by two companies First Cavalry, Captain Carr, commander, Captain Wood. It was near here, in October, 1859, that Major Karl Van Don encountered and utterly routed the Comanches in a pitched battle.

ARSENAL AT WASHINGTON.

In connection with the military movements now proceeding at Washington we publish herewith a view of the Arsenal at that city. It stands on the junction of the eastern branch with the Potomac, and is surrounded on three sides by water. Here are foundries, workshops, magazines, laboratories, and every thing necessary for the manufacture of implements and materials of war. At the present time the Arsenal is a scene of great activity. In front of the Arsenal stand a collection of foreign brass cannon, some of which are trophies taken in battle at Saratoga, Yorktown, Niagara, and Yora Cruz.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

A NOVEL.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

CHAPTER XXV.

BENTLEY DRUMMIE, who was so sulky a fellow that he even took up a book up as if his writer had done him an injury, did not take up an ac-

quaintance in a more agreeable spirit. Heavy in figure, movement, and comprehension—in the slouchy complexion of his face, and in the large, awkward tongue that seemed to loiter about in his mouth as he himself lolled about in a room—he was idle, proud, misguidedly reserved, and suspicious. He came of rich people down in Somersetshire, who had turned this combination of qualities until they made the discovery that it was just of age and a blockhead. Thus Bentley Drummie had come to Mr. Pocket when he was a head taller than that gentleman, and half a dozen heads thicker than most gentlemen.

Startup had been spoiled by a weak mother and kept at home when he ought to have been at school; but he was devotedly attached to her, and admired her beyond measure. He had a woman's delicacy of feature, and was—"as you may see, though you never saw her," said Herbert to me—"exactly like his mother." It was but natural that I should take to him much more kindly than to Drummie, and that even in the earliest evening of our housing he and I should pull homeward ahead of one another, conversing from boat to boat, while Bentley Drummie came up in our wake alone, under the overhanging banks and among rushes. He would always creep in shore like some uncomfortable amphibious creature, even when the tide would have

sent him fast upon his way, and I always think of him as coming after us in the dark or by the back-water, when our own two boats were breaking the sunset or the moonlight in mid-stream.

Herbert was my most intimate companion and friend. I presented him with a half-share in my boat, which was the occasion of his often coming down to Hammer-smith; and my possession of a half-share in his chambers often took me up to London. We used to walk between the two places at all hours, and I have no affection for the road yet though it is not so pleasant a road as it was then, formed in the impossibility of untired youth and hope.

When I had been in Mr. Pocket's family a month or two Mr. and Mrs. Camilla turned up. Camilla was Mr. Pocket's sister, Georgina, whom I had seen at Miss Havisham's on the same occasion, also turned up. She was a cousin—an indigestible single woman, who called her rigidity religion, and her liver love. These people lashed me with the hatred of capidity and disappointment. As a matter of course, they fawned upon me in my prosperity with the basest meanness. Toward Mr. Pocket, as a sort of grown-up infant with no notion of his own interests, they showed the complacent forbearance I had heard them express. Mrs. Pocket they held in contempt; but they allowed the poor

dear soul to have been heavily disappointed in life, because that shed a full reflected light upon themselves.

These were the surroundings among which I settled down, and applied myself to my education. I soon contracted expensive habits, and began to spend an amount of money that within a few short months I should have thought almost fabulous; but, through good and evil, I stuck to my hooks. There was no other merit in this than my having sense enough to feel my deficiencies. Between Mr. Pocket and Herbert I got on fast, and with one or the other always at my elbow to give me the directions I wanted, and clear obstructions out of my road, I must have been as great a dolt as Drummie if I had done less.

I had not seen Mr. Wemmick for some weeks, when I thought I would write him a note and propose to go home with him on a certain evening. He replied that it would give him much pleasure, and that he would expect me at the office at six o'clock. Thither I went, and there I found him putting the key of his safe down his back as the clock struck.

"Did you think of walking down to Walworth?" said he.

"Certainly," said I, "if you approve."

"Very much," was Wemmick's reply, "for I have had my legs under the desk all day, and shall be glad to stretch 'em. Now I'll tell you what I have got for supper, Mr. Pip. I have got a stewed steak—which is of home preparation—and a cold roast fowl—which is from the cook-shop. I think it's tender, because the master of the shop was a jurymen in some cases of cows the other day, and we let him down easy. I reminded him of that when I bought the fowl, and I said, 'Pick us out a good one, old fellow, because if we had chosen to keep you in the box another day or two we could easily have done it.' He said to that, 'Let me make you a present of the best fowl in the shop.' I let him, of course. As far as it goes, it's property and portable. You don't object to an aged parent, I hope?"

I really thought he was still speaking of the fowl, until he added, "Because I have got an aged parent at my place." I then said what politeness required.

"So you haven't dined with Mr. Jaggers yet?" he pursued, as we walked along.

"Not yet."

"He told me so this afternoon when he heard you were coming to see me. I expect you'll have an invitation to-morrow. He's going to ask your pals, too. Three of 'em, ain't there?"

Although I was not in the habit of counting Drummie as one of my intimate associates, I said "Yes."

"Well, he's going to ask the whole gang"—I hardly felt complimented by the word—"and whatever he gives you, he'll give you good. Don't look forward to variety, but you'll have excellence. And there's another run thing in his house," proceeded Wemmick, after a moment's pause, as if the remark bestowed on the housekeeper was understood; "I'll serve lets a door or window be fastened at night."

"Is he never robbed?"

"That's it," returned Wemmick. "He says, and gives it out publicly, 'I want to see the man who'll rob me.' Lord bless you, I have heard him a hundred times if I have heard him



"WOLLY, LET THEM SEE BOTH YOUR WRISTS. SHOW THEM, COME!"

© 1997 HARPERWEEK®

Figure 11 Harper's Weekly, "The Washington Arsenal," (16 March 1861): 173, acquired from Harpweek.



Figure 12 U.S. Arsenal, Washington, D.C., north front interior court, acquired from Library of Congress, digital id: cph 3b26016.



Figure 13 Washington, D.C., park of wiard [sic] guns at the Arsenal, acquired from Library of Congress, digital id: cwpb 03923.



Figure 14 Washington, D.C., park of wiard [sic] guns at the Arsenal, acquired from Library of Congress, digital id: cwpg 03649.



Figure 15 *Harper's Weekly*, "Our Women and the War," (6 September 1862): 658-569, acquired from Harpweek.

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

Vol. V.—No. 235.]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1861.

[SINGLE COPIES SIX CENTS.
\$5 00 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.]

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the Year 1861, by Harper & Brothers, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York.



THE WAR-MAKING HAVELOCKS FOR THE VOLUNTEERS.

© 1997 HARPERWEEK®

Figure 16 *Harper's Weekly*, "The War – Making Havelocks for the Volunteers," (29 June 1861): cover page, acquired from Harpweek.

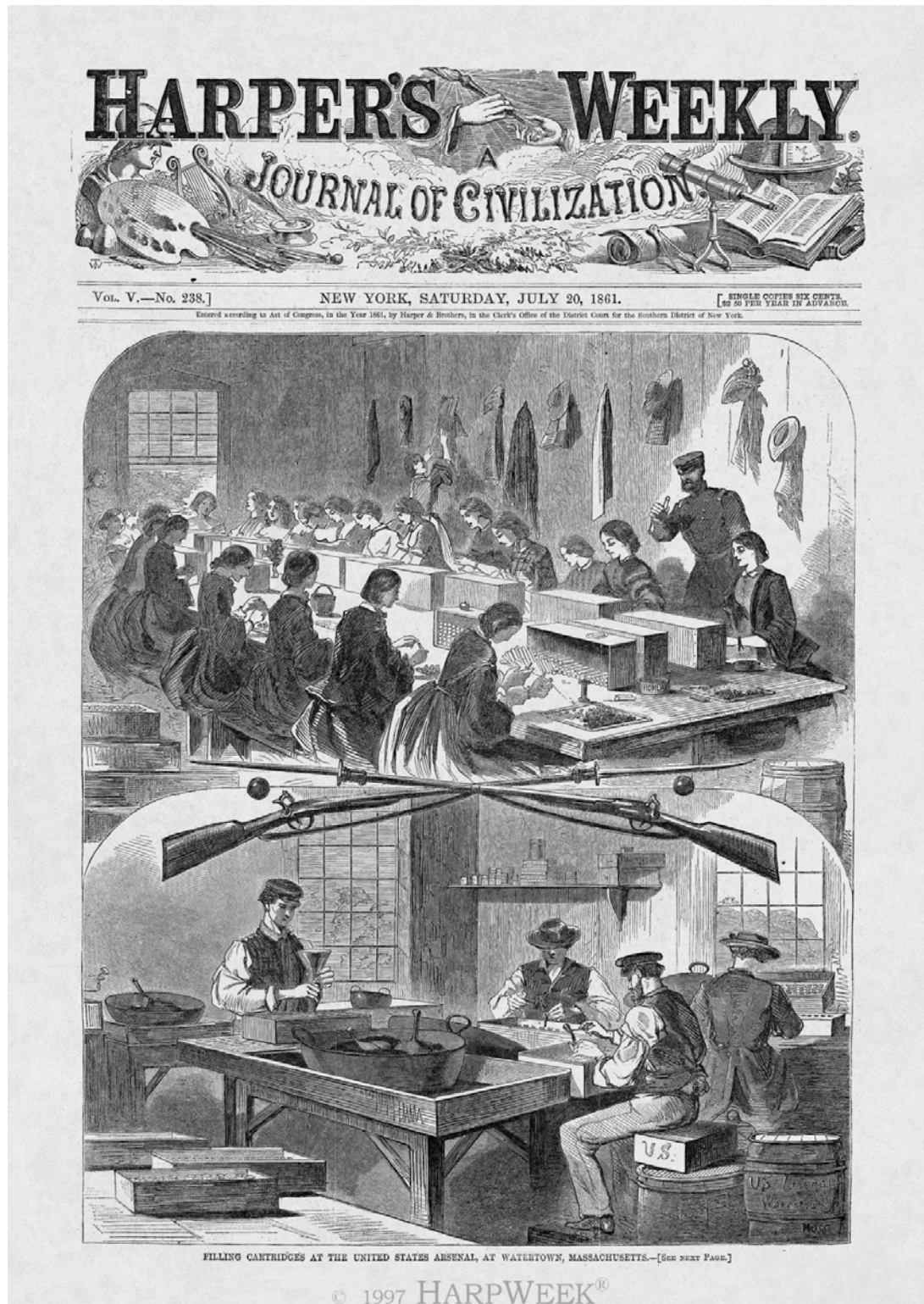


Figure 17 *Harper's Weekly*, "Filling Cartridges at the United States Arsenal, at Watertown, Massachusetts," (20 July 1861): cover page, acquired from Harpweek.

FEBRUARY 19, 1859.]

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

125



THE "INDESTRUCTIBLE" SKIRT.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.
ARTICLE IV.

THOMSON'S CROWN-SKIRT FACTORY.

THE accompanying illustrations will introduce our readers to another of the great manufacturing establishments of New York—Thomson's Skirt Factory; an establishment which provides healthy and lucrative employment for one thousand girls, and furnishes an indispensable article of dress to from three thousand to four thousand ladies daily.

The manufacture of hoop skirts has been heretofore described in this journal. We need only add here that the peculiarities of Messrs. Thomson's manufacture appear to be an "eyelid fastening," by which the tapes and hoops of skirts are fastened, and which is said to be indestructible; a watch-spring contrivance, by which a "graceful backward fall" is said to be given to the dress; a "slide" which will not slip; and a "skirt-supporter," which obviates pressure on the lower part of the trunk, and throws the weight of all the skirts upon the shoulders.

The number of girls employed by the Messrs. Thomson will average, as we said, one thousand. The wages of these girls vary, of course, according to their experience, industry, and skill. Smart girls, we are told, can easily make \$4 a week, and a salary as high as \$10 is paid at least in one instance. Four dollars a week, it need hardly be remarked, is very fair remuneration for labor which is neither excessive nor unhealthy. Most of the girls who work in this factory have been taken

from the ranks of plain sewers, and educated to the hoop skirt manufacture. The whole establishment is under the superintendence of a woman, who from the first has exercised control over the employment of hands, the arrangement of work, and the remuneration paid. Even the accountants of the factory are women.

The quantities of raw material consumed in these large establishments are enormous. Of steel-spring wire over 200,000 yards, and of tape 150,000 yards, are used per week, making together a line long enough to reach from New York to Boston. Three hundred labor-saving machines of various kinds are in constant use; many of which produce effects almost magical. One clasp-cutting machine, for instance, produces the incredible number of 200 clasps a minute. Nor is this enormous supply excessive; for over 250,000 clasps, slides, and eyelids are evaluated up in hoop skirts daily.

The revilers of the hoop will thus perceive that it is, after all, an institution not wholly useless, inasmuch as in this establishment alone it feeds, clothes, and warms over one thousand females, many of whom have children or aged parents depending on them. We are glad to hear that the profits of this manufacture are going to produce yet another benefit. The Messrs. Thomson, we understand, contemplate the establishment of a library for their employees, and likewise propose to have a competent lecturer give, in one of the great halls of their establishment, a course of free lectures to the girls and their friends. This is not such a heartless age after all.

OUR SPECIAL PARIS CORRESPONDENCE.

Woe Remains—Are American Gentlemen inferior to the ones of Europe?—Prevalence of American Ladies—European fashions in the United States—An American Ladies who will not receive Americans—Difficulties of getting into good Society—A Skirt in the Fashion of St. Germain—Le Coiffeur Marie Louise—American Society at Paris—French of Mrs. Van Rensselaer—American extravagance abroad, etc., etc.

PARIS, JANUARY 30, 1859.

AFTER a week of violent agitation and commotion in all Europe, it seems to be decided that, for the present, peace is not to be disturbed. It is said that, in this country, the reports from the Departments of the extreme superciliousness of the prospect of war has induced the Emperor to pause in his intentions and reconsider his daring projects, albeit not much given to such forebodings. But all this is not written in thousands of articles daily

proceeding from the French and English newspapers. I am making myself young again, and going into the world, for the sake of my friend Frank, to whom I introduced you last week, and in whose I trust you and your readers will feel an interest, as I do. I have long been endeavoring to ascertain what reason there is for the general idea that American gentlemen are inferior to others of their class in Europe in character, manners, deportment, appearance—in a word, in all that constitutes a gentleman. I so constantly hear it said, "Oh, the American women are charming, but spare me from the men!" Certainly this is not true of them in youth and early manhood, impossible to be better looking, better mannered, or more gentlemanly than Frank or others of his age and class. The deterioration must be the result of other influences too numerous and complicated to be fully dwelt upon here. I acknowledge that a few years does seem too often to transform these pleasing

youths into careless, loose, mannered men, who appear to look upon life either as a keen race for dollars, or a lounge in which to smoke cigars and drink brandy and water. The personal attractions of American women seem to be uncontested, and so, I think, must be their cleverness, and tact, and power of moving "circumstances, the unsuspicious goal," to their own will and pleasure, by any one who, looking on the best circles of Paris society, sees most conspicuous there "Americans" or those placed there by the adroitness and perseverance of American mothers; and I am bound to say that, in most instances, this eminence has been attained without any sacrifice of that prominence in purity of conduct and strictness of moral principle which was formerly the proudest distinction of American women.

When I went back to the United States, ten years ago, I must say I was rather shocked at what seemed to be a change in this respect, and a rapid importation and glowing exhibition of European ideas, vices, and follies; but I hope it was only a fashion and a way, put on with the crinolines and the bonnets, and not affecting the true worth and right feeling of the darling creature. But to return to Paris.

It is curious enough that the only house where I have been refused an invitation for my friend Frank is an American one, and that upon the plea of his being an "American!" The lady, who has a fine hotel, where she receives once a week at pleasant, musical, and dancing parties all the best French and English society, candidly told me that she had made it a rule not to extend her acquaintance among her own country people. There were



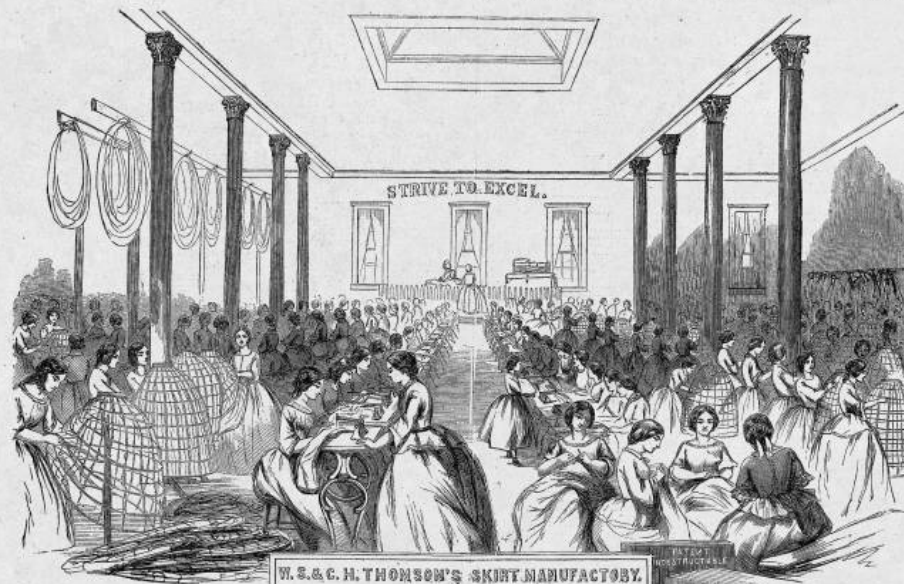
THE CLASP-CUTTING MACHINE.

some of these whom she had known in other days when she continued to see; but she said, "Americans are envious and scandalous, and if one has any thing in the past to disown one, they are sure to fasten upon and to circulate it. If my father had happened to be a grocer, or my mother a milliner, I do not wish to have the fact told in my own drawing-rooms and to those whose social position has always been so established that they would consider it as a deduction from my merits."

"No," she added, "I am sorry to refuse you, and I have no doubt your young gentleman is very nice; but I must abide by my rule."

This lady professes English society. Other American houses will receive only French, and no English dukes or dards, however magnificent, can look their resolution to exclude all the countrymen. Others, again, open their salons to all of every nation who are properly presented, or who have any claim to the distinction; and these, I must say, are the most agreeable houses, and I see this is the impression also they have made upon Frank.

We dined together last week in the Pension St. Germain, where the host, himself of one of the oldest French families, had married a lady with genuine American blood in her veins, and who, by that right or some other, has managed to possess herself of all the graces and virtues that adorn and dignify her sex. It is impossible to describe the charm and fascination of a social circle such as we have assembled. One of the sisters of the house who was there, the young Comtesse de — is the beauty of the day. A blonde, raven and round in form, with soft, large blue eyes and dimpled shoulders, and her magnificent fair hair arranged



W.S. & C.H. THOMSON'S SKIRT MANUFACTORY.

© 1997 HARPER'S WEEKLY

Figure 18 Harper's Weekly, "W.S. & C.H. Thomson's Skirt Manufactory," (19 February 1859): 125, acquired from Harpweek.

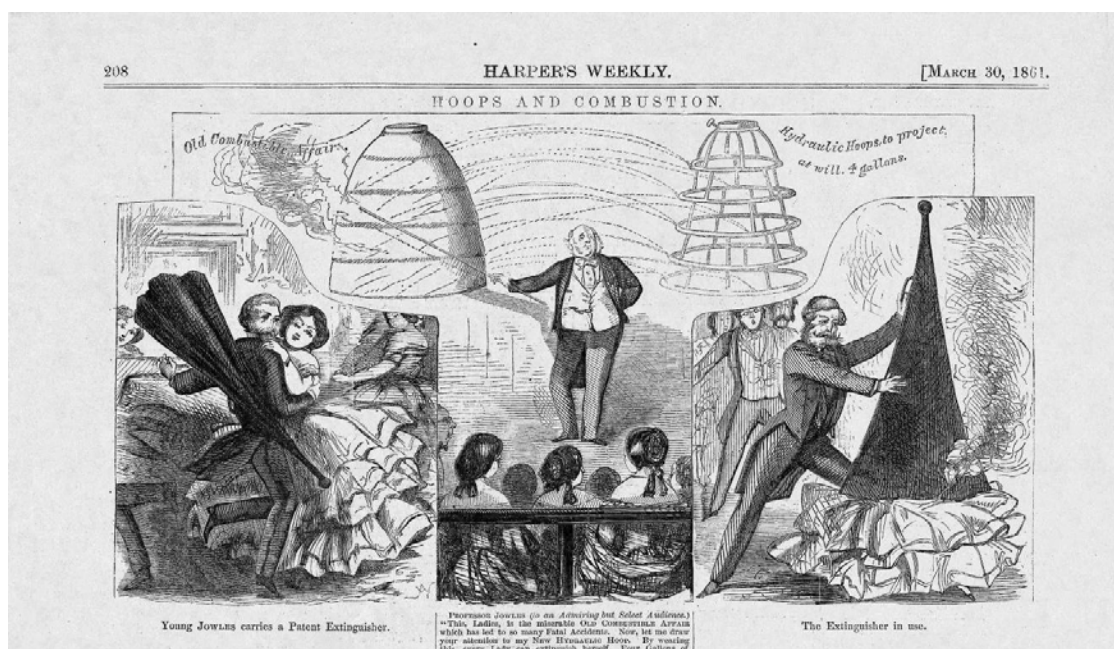


Figure 19 *Harper's Weekly*, "Hoops and Combustion," (30 March 1861): 208, acquired from Harpweek.

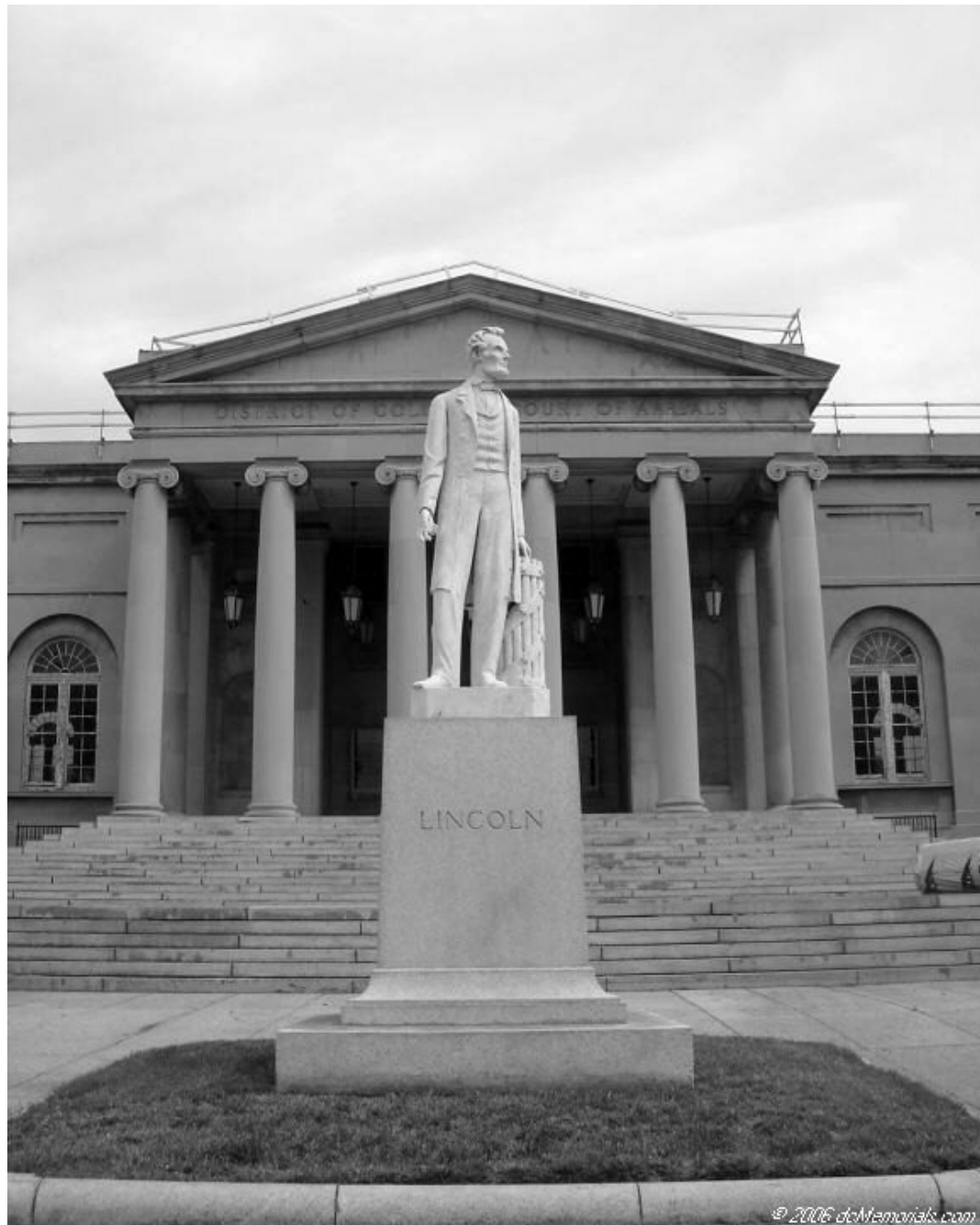


Figure 20 Lot Flannery, *Abraham Lincoln Statue*, courthouse, marble, 1868. Pedestal by Frank Pilerson, architect, 1922. Acquired from dcMemorials.com.



Figure 21 Caesar Ripa, *Grief* from *Iconologia, or Moral Emblems*, 1709, acquired from emblem.libraries.psu.edu.

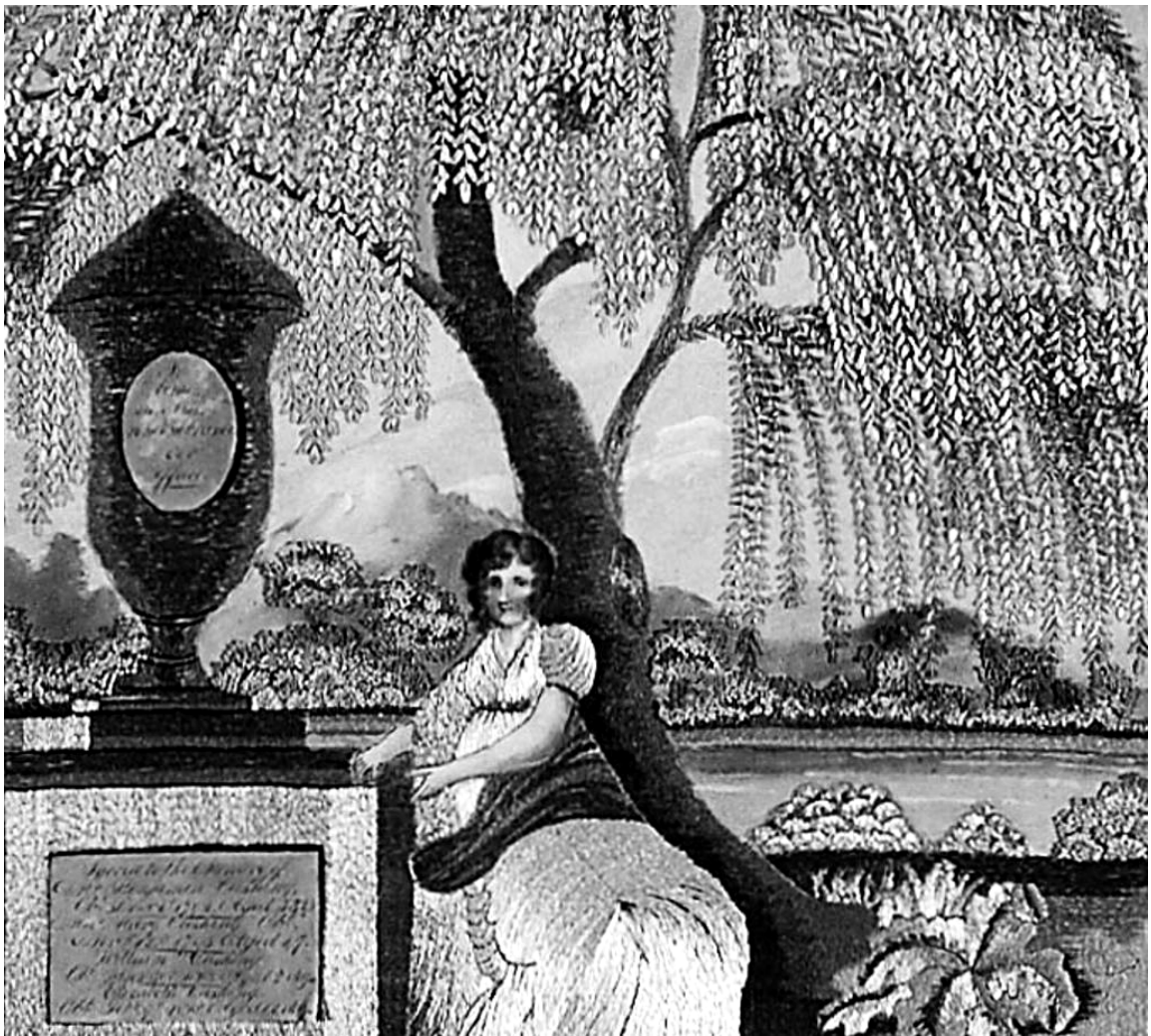


Figure 22 *Mourning Picture*, silk embroidered on silk plain weave ground and painted, 1818, acquired from Artstor.



Figure 23 *Mourning Locket for A.R.*, watercolor on ivory, c. 1780, acquired from Artstor.

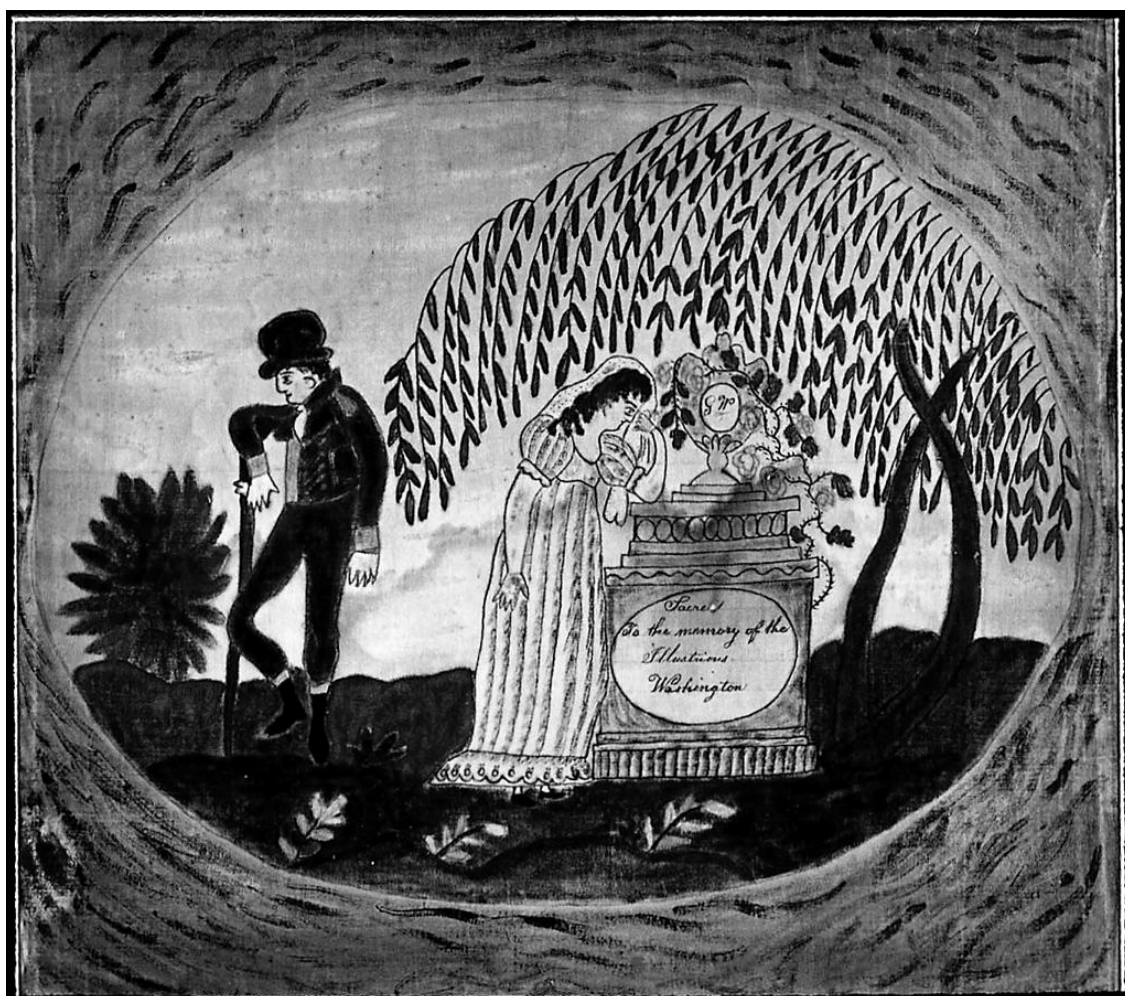


Figure 24 *Memorial for George Washington*, watercolor, pen and brown ink on velvet, c. 1840 acquired from Arstor.



Figure 25 Litchfield Civil War Memorial, Maine, dedicated June 17, 1907, acquired from <http://www.historicalsocietyoflitchfieldmaine.org/veterans.htm>.



Figure 26 Evelyn Beatrice Longman, *The Triangle Fire Memorial to the Unknowns*, Evergreens Cemetery, Brooklyn, New Nork, 1912, acquired from Ellen Wiley Todd, “Remembering the Unknowns.”

APPENDIX

1. Daily National Intelligencer

A) "Terrible Calamity; Explosion at the Washington Arsenal." *Daily National Intelligencer*, 18 June 1864, column D.

TERRIBLE CALAMITY.

EXPLOSION AT THE WASHINGTON ARSENAL.

The community were shocked yesterday by one of those calamities that appall the mind by their suddenness and terrible consequences.

At ten minutes past twelve o'clock, the quarter of the city adjacent to the United States Arsenal, near the foot of Four-and-a-half street, was startled by an explosion, followed by a column of smoke rising from the Arsenal grounds. Persons hurrying to the scene found that the long building or shed, called the laboratory, where shells are charged, was blown up, and was on fire. The alarm was given and the Hibernia steam engine and other machines were quickly rallied and set to work to quench the flames, which were roasting the bodies of the unfortunate victims of the disaster. At twenty minutes past one the fire was extinguished, and some bodies and fragments of bodies were taken out of the ruins.

The scene was horrible beyond description. Under the metal roof of the building were seething bodies and limbs, mangled, scorched, and charred beyond the possibility of identification. Most of those who escaped—about two hundred and fifty persons, mostly females, were employed in that building—had fled shrieking away. Some fainted, and were with difficulty restored, and some had, after the first shock, returned to shriek over the fate of their companions; while an agonized crowd of relatives rushed to the spot to learn tidings of their daughters or sisters who were known to have been in the fated building.

Up to three o'clock eighteen or nineteen bodies had been taken from the ruins. They were so charred as to defy identification. The number could not be definitely ascertained, as the reader may know, when told that a half dozen of the bodies were put into a box about five feet square. Three women were taken out alive and placed in the hospital. Their names are Sally McElfish, Anne Bach, (or Bates,) and Rebecca Husk. Miss Bates is so seriously injured that her recovery is doubtful. Sarah Bunch escaped from the building, and, being terribly frightened, ran towards her home, which is on Four-and-a-half street, Island, between Fifth and Sixth, but swooned away, and died instantly, it is supposed from fright.

The following are still missing, and are doubtless among the dead: Edw. Lacey, M. Dunn, Fizzie Bracker, Bettie Brannigan, Melissa Adams, Julia McKwen, and Maggie Johnson. The three last named are given up by their friends as dead. Many who are not among the dead are missing, for they were so frightened that they fled in all directions. One took refuge in a cellar, and remained there for an hour before she recovered from the effects of her extreme terror.

The square in front of the Arsenal gate presents a most appalling spectacle. Here, mothers, sisters, husbands, and fathers are there seeking for sisters, wives, and daughters.

The anxiety and sorrow exhibited is beyond all description. The building destroyed was about one hundred feet long on the south end of the yard, with wooden walls and tin roof. It is used for charging artillery shells &c. Yesterday the hands were at work preparing signal rockets, and the explosion was caused by the ignition of rockets used in these rockets. A quantity of these stars were being dried in brick pans outside the building. A spark was seen to fall from a chimney of the cartridge laboratory by a son of the superintendent of the Arsenal, and it is supposed that the sparks were set on fire in this manner. Another theory is that the sparks became heated by the rubbing of the muscadin powder set on fire. The sparks were blown from these stars dashed into the building and caused the explosion. Secretary Stanton is on the spot attending to the matter.

The injured parties were attended to by Dr. Porter, who was assisted by Dr. Charles Allen, of this city, who happened to be in the neighborhood.

The foregoing particulars of this terrible calamity were derived from the Republican of that evening. At a later hour we learned that the charred remains of seventeen of the victims had been recovered. With one exception, they were all women, and only two of the bodies could be identified.

B) "Calamity at the Arsenal, The." *Daily National Intelligencer*, 20 June 1864, column E.

THE CALAMITY AT THE ARSENAL.

We learn that four of the sufferers who were rescued alive from the burning ruins of the laboratory at the Arsenal on Friday last have since died, increasing the total number of the deaths by that calamity to twenty-one, whose names are thus reported:

Susan Harris, a young girl, member of Wesley Chapel; Eliza Lacy; Betty Breshnahan, whose husband is a soldier in Gen. Grant's army; Miss Collins; Miss Yonson; Eliza Adams, daughter of a dealer in Centre Market; Miss McElfresh, who was removed to her mother's residence and died during Friday night; Ellen Roach; Anna Bache, died in hospital on Friday night; Joanna Connor; Kate Horan; Miss Dunn; Julia McEwen; Mrs. Tippet; Miss Murphy; Miss Lloyd; Rebecca Hull; Miss Brailor; Emma Baird; Mary Burroughs; and Ada or Willie Webster; which of the two is not certain, but that one of the sisters is dead appears beyond doubt.

We have before given the substance of the verdict of the

C) "Mournful Spectacle, A." *Daily National Intelligencer*, 20 June 1864, column B.

A MOURNFUL SPECTACLE.

The obsequies of the young women who, on Friday last, fell victims to the deplorable calamity which on that day took place at the Arsenal in this city, were yesterday appropriately commemorated, amid demonstrations of profound public sorrow, elicited by an event so solemn and touching. Whether regard be had to the awful circumstances under which death so suddenly came to these unhappy youth, or to the number who were involved in the catastrophe, the accident was painful and tragic beyond any that has ever before occurred in the history of our city; and, as was attested by the number and character of those who participated in the funeral cortege, or who thronged to witness the sad procession, the public sensibilities responded to the appeal addressed to the sympathy of our citizens. The remains of the unfortunate victims, encased in handsome coffins, bedecked with flowers, and each borne on a separate hearse, were conveyed from the Arsenal to the Congressional Cemetery, and there interred. Among those who filled the long line of carriages which composed the procession we noticed the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, Gen. Ramey, Chief of the Ordnance Bureau, and other distinguished persons.

2. Lot Flannery

A) "In Marble and Bronze: How the Lives of Great Men are Commemorated at the Capital." *The Washington Post*. 30 September, 1879.

The marble statue of Lincoln in front of the City hall is the work of Lot Flannery. Its cost was defrayed by patriotic citizens. Flannery was a self-taught sculptor, who combined energy and enthusiasm with a slight modicum of genius. Among the proposed statues, other than that of Gen. Thomas, is one yet to be erected to Admiral Farragut, in Farragut square, on Connecticut avenue, between I and K and Seventeenth streets. The monument is to be of colossal height, of bronze, for which Congress appropriated \$20,000 in April, 1872. Vinnie Ream, the sculptor, has completed the plaster cast and will soon mould it in bronze.

B) "Work in the Patent Office." *The Washington Office*. 1 May, 1885.

Fell From a Bridge.

A young man named Brewer, while standing on the M-street bridge at Georgetown, last night, was taken with a fit and fell backwards from the bridge, striking on the bank and rolling thence into the creek. He was picked up immediately and taken to his home, where it was found that he was very seriously injured.

An Important Contract Awarded.

The contract for the marble work on the proposed terrace improvement around the Capitol building has been awarded to Messrs. Martin and Lot Flannery, of this city, at \$87,000.

Judge Wylie's Successor.

Attorney General Garland said yesterday that Judge Wylie's resignation would take effect to-day, and that the President would probably consider the selection of his successor at once.

The New Auditors Qualify.

First Auditor Chenoweth and Third Auditor

C) "General Logan's Statue; Sculptor Flannery has Prepared a Model for the Committee."
The Washington Post. 2 July, 1890.

GENERAL LOGAN'S STATUE.

Sculptor Flannery Has Prepared a Model for the Committee.

In a little frame house under the shadow of the Capitol stands a plaster cast of an equestrian statue of General John A. Logan. The sculptor is Lot Flannery, whose statue of Lincoln is perched on top of a tall and thin column in front of the City Hall. Logan's statue is to be erected in Iowa Circle, Congress having already appropriated the money for the pedestal, while the cost of the statue will be defrayed by the Army of the Tennessee. The committee which will select a model consists of General Alger, General Raum, Capt. George E. Lemon, and Mrs. Logan.

Mr. Flannery's statue represents General Logan at the battle of Atlanta, just after the death of McPherson. The horse stands with head curved downward and one foot raised, as if about to paw the ground. The general's left hand holds the reins not too tightly, and his right hand, extended down his side, has a firm clutch on the crown of his army hat—"the identical pose," says Mr. Flannery, "that was photographed on my mind as General Logan rode up Pennsylvania avenue on the day of the review of the Army of the Potomac." There is a total absence of military accessories, no pistol holster, blanket roll or sword being seen. The face is full of character, determination, and intelligence, and is modeled from a bust which Mr. Flannery executed after General Logan had given him a six month's sitting. Mr. Flannery does not know how many models will be submitted nor how many other artists are working to secure this very desirable commission.

D) "Wounds an Intruder; Lot Flannery, Sculptor, Held for Shooting Negro." *The Washington Post*. 5 September 1910.

WOUNDS AN INTRUDER

Lot Flannery, Sculptor, Held
for Shooting Negro.

VICTIM NOT SERIOUSLY HURT

Veteran Artist, Who Designed and Executed Statue of Lincoln Which Stands in Front of Old City Hall, Says Jack Owens Was Attempting to Break Into His Studio-Home.

Lot Flannery, a veteran sculptor, was arrested at his workshop, Delaware avenue and B street southwest, last night by Lieut. Flather and Policemen Grant and Heathcotte, of the Fourth precinct, charged with shooting Jack Owens, a young negro, who, Mr. Flannery says, attempted to break into his place.

Owens was picked up at Second and Canal streets southwest and hurried to Casualty Hospital, where it was found he had been shot through the back, near the spine, the bullet passing out the left side. The surgeons say he will recover.

Owens said he entered the premises and was looking around, with no intention to steal, when Mr. Flannery appeared and fired four shots at him, none taking effect. He ran, and, Owens says, the fifth shot hit him in the back.

Overcome by Weakness.

At Second and Canal streets he became too weak to run farther. There he met a man and told him he had been shot, asking him to call an ambulance. It was an hour and a half before the police of the Fourth precinct heard of the shooting. Mr. Flannery was arrested at 8:30 o'clock.

When taken to Fourth precinct station, where he is being held, Mr. Flannery told the police he had fired twice at the negro. He says he challenged him to know what he was doing there, and the negro darted through the high growth of weeds. Mr. Flannery said he then fired, but did not know he had hit the fleeing man.

The prisoner designed and executed the Lincoln statue that stands on the high shaft in front of old city hall in Judiciary square. He is a bachelor, 62 years old, and lives alone in rooms adjoining his studio and workrooms. He is the senior member of the firm of Flannery & Phillipson.

E) "Lincoln Statue to be Restore." *The Christian Science Monitor*. 28 April, 1922.

pg. 3
**LINCOLN STATUE
TO BE RESTORED**

**Exiled Monument Now Is Stored
in Basement**

WASHINGTON, April 28—Re-erection on its original site in Washington of one of the first monuments dedicated to Abraham Lincoln, and which for two years or more has been stored in a courthouse basement, is ordered in a bill passed by the House.

When a new courthouse was built several years ago, the monument, funds for which were raised by popular subscription shortly after 1865, was ordered down by the Fine Arts Commission, on the theory that it was out of harmony with its surroundings and that its pedestal was unsafe. The monument, which was the work of Lot Flannery, who knew Lincoln well, consists of a life-size statue.

Ever since it was taken down, a fight led by the Grand Army of the Republic, the Loyal Legion and other organizations, has been waged for Congress to put it back. The President joined in, declaring there seemed to be so much of appealing sentiment about the restoration that Congress ought to help. The Legion contended removal of the monument was a desecration, and posts throughout the country had offered to take it and set it up if it was to remain under a cover of rags in a basement, where no one could see it.

3. Other Newspapers

A) *Daily Evening Bulletin*. (No Title) San Francisco, CA. 25 August, 1864.

\$3,000 has been raised in Washington for the fund to be appropriated to the erection of a monument over the remains of those who lost their lives by the explosion at the arsenal.

B) Uncited newspaper clipping from Brian Bergin, "The Forgotten History," unpublished presentation, last modified July 22, 2009. Microsoft PowerPoint file.

PROPOSALS WILL BE RECEIVED UNTIL SATURDAY, November 19th, for the erection of a MONUMENT to the memory of the Young Women who perished by an explosion at Washington Arsenal, June 17th, 1864.

Proposals must be accompanied with a design, dimensions &c., of the proposed Monument, and also of a railing to enclose the same.

The Monument to be of the best American White Marble, with the names of the Twenty-one (21) young women suitably inscribed thereon, together with the date of the accident.

The foundation must be of granite at least six (6) feet square and 2½ feet deep, substantially laid in cement.

The railing must be of Cast Iron, enclosing a lot fifteen by eighteen (15x18) feet, and resting upon suitable blocks of granite.

The cost of the whole not to exceed Three Thousand (\$3,000) Dollars. The work to be executed to the satisfaction of the Committee.

Bidders will please state the time required to complete the work.

Proposals may be addressed to either of the undersigned at Washington Arsenal.

**JOSEPH A. BURCH,
JOHN G. DUDLEY,
JAMES R. KING,
JAMES JOHNSON.**

nov 3-eod to 19th [Chron.] Committee.

4. Arsenal Workers

A) The following table lists the names of the deceased following the layout of the Monument's pedestal. Accompanying information covers their ages (if known), whether they were unidentified, and their location of burial.

WEST	EAST
Emma Baird 19, unidentified, Monument site	Ellen Roche unidentified, Monument site
Kate Brosnahan 20, unidentified, Monument site	Julia McEwen Monument site
Louisa Lloyd unidentified, Monument site	Bridget Dunn Mt. Olivet
Melissa Adams 18, unidentified, Monument site	W.E. Tippet unidentified, Monument site
Emily Collins 24, Monument site	Margaret Horan 20, Mount Olivet
Rebecca Hull 40, Mount Olivet	Johanna Connor 20, Mount Olivet
Annie Bache 18, unmarked Congressional	Susan Harris 19, unidentified, Monument site
Mary Burroughs unidentified, Monument site	Lizzie Bahlor 13, Monument site
Sallie McElfresh 12, unmarked Congressional	Margaret C. Yonson Monument site
Pinky Scott 31, Monument site	Bettie Branagan Monument site
	Eliza Lacey 28, Monument site

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abramson, Daniel. "Make History, Not Memory; History's Critique of Memory." *Harvard Design Magazine* 9 (Fall 1999): 1-6.
- Barnhurst, Kevin G. and John Nerone. "Civic Picturing vs. Realist Photojournalism the Regime of Illustrated News, 1856-1901." *Design Issues* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 2000): 29-79.
- Barton, Michael. "Journalistic Gore: Disaster Reporting and Emotional Discourse in the *New York Times*, 1852-1956." In *An Emotional History of the United States*, edited by Peter N. Stearns and Jan Lewis, 155-72. New York: New York University Press, 1998.
- Bergin, Brian. "Tragedy at City's Arsenal." *The Washington Times*. 17 May 2008. <<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/may/17/tragedy-at-citys-arsenal/?page=1>> (15 February 2011).
- Bergin, Brian. "The Forgotten History." Unpublished presentation, last modified July 22, 2009. Microsoft PowerPoint file.
- Bloch, David. *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection*. Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Bogart, Michele H. *The Politics of Urban Beauty; New York and its Art Commission*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Bohn's Hand-Book of Washington Illustrated with Engravings of the Public Buildings and the Government Statuary*. 5th ed. Washington, D.C., 1918.
- Bryant, Gary E. "Working Women in the Confederate South: White Southern Women in the Paid Labor Force During the Civil War." Ph.D. diss., University of Houston, 2008.
- Cavitch, Max. *American Elegy: The Poetry of Mourning from the Puritans to Whitman*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Dabakis, Melissa. *Visualizing Labor in American Sculpture: Monuments, Manliness, and the Work Ethic, 1880-1935*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1999.
- De Baets, Antoon. "A Declaration of the Responsibilities of Present Generations Towards Past Generations." *History and Theory* 43, no. 4 (Dec. 2004): 130-164.
- Derderian, Katharine. *Leaving Words to Remember: Greek Mourning and the Advent of Literacy*. Boston: Brill, 2001.
- Faust, Drew. *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008.

- Frank, Robin Jaffee. *Love and Loss; American Portrait and Mourning Miniatures*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Freud, Sigmund. *Mourning and Melancholia*. Vol. 14 of *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Translated by James Strachey, et al. London: The Hogarth Press, 1957.
- Giesberg, Judith. *Army at Home; Women and the Civil War on the Northern Home Front*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Goode, James M. *Washington Sculpture: A Cultural History of Outdoor Sculpture in the Nation's Capital*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Harrison, Robert Pogue. *The Dominion of the Dead*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr. "In Our Youth Our Hearts Were Touched with Fire." *The Harvard Regiment*. 30 May 1884 or 1892.
<<http://harvardregiment.org/memorial.htm>> (21 February 2010).
- Japaridze, Tamar. *The Kantian Subject: Sensus Communis, Mimesis, Work of Mourning*. Boston: Brill, 2001.
- Kasson, Joy S. *Marble Queens and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Linden-Ward, Blanch. *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989.
- McClellan, Phyllis I. *Silent Sentinel on the Potomac: Fort McNair, 1791-1991*. Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1993.
- Muto, Laverne. "A Feminist Art - The American Memorial Picture." *Art Journal* 35, no. 4 (Summer 1976): 352-358.
- Neff, John R. *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989): 7-24.
- Ratner, Lorman A., Paula T. Kaufman, and Dwight L. Teeter Jr. *Paradoxes of Prosperity: Wealth-Seeking versus Christian Values in Pre-Civil War America*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

- Riegl, Alois. "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin." In *The Nineteenth-century Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, 56-59. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Ripa, Caesar. *Iconologia or Moral Emblems*. London: Motte, 1709.
- Rowlands, Michael. "Remembering to Forget: Sublimation as Sacrifice in War Memorials." In *The Art of Forgetting*, edited by Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler, 129-145. New York: Berg, 1999.
- Savage, Kirk. "History, Memory, and Monuments: An Overview of the Scholarly Literature on Commemoration."
<<http://www.nps.gov/history/history/eresedu/savage.htm>>
- Savage, Kirk. "The Past in the Present; the Life of Memorials." *Harvard Design Magazine* 9 (Fall 1999): 1-5.
- Savage, Kirk. "Race, Memory, and Identity: The National Monuments of the Union and Confederacy." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1990.
- Savage, Kirk. *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Schorsch, Anita. "A Key to the Kingdom: The Iconography of a Mourning Picture." *Winterthur Portfolio* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 41-71.
- Schorsch, Anita. "Mourning Art: A Neoclassical Reflection in America." *American Art Journal* 8, no. 1 (May 1976): 5-15.
- Shackel, Paul. "Memorializing Landscapes and the Civil War in Harpers Ferry," In *Look to the Earth*, edited by Clarence R. Geier, Jr. and Susan E. Winter, 256-270. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Silber, Nina. *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Sullivan, David D. "Behind Prison Walls: The Operation of the District Penitentiary, 1831-1862." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* (1971-1972): 243-266.
- Thompson, William Fletcher, Jr. "Illustrating the Civil War." *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 45, no. 1 (Autumn, 1961): 10-20.
- Thompson, William Fletcher, Jr. "Pictorial Propaganda and the Civil War." *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 46, no. 1 (Autumn, 1962): 21-31.

- Todd, Ellen Wiley. "Remembering the Unknowns; The Longman Memorial and the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Fire." *American Art* 23, no. 3 (2009): 60-81.
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre. *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*. Edited by Froma I. Zeitlin. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Warner, Marina. *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985.
- Yates, Frances A. *The Art of Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Other Sources

The Washington Arsenal

"Arsenal at Washington." *Harper's Weekly* (16 March 1861): 173.

The Arsenal Fire

- "The Arsenal Disaster." *Washington Star*. Monday, June 20, 1864.
<http://www.congressionalcemetery.org/Research/History_Cemetery/ClipFiles/ClipFiles_1860.html> (23 April, 2010).
- "Frightful Explosion at the Arsenal." *Washington Star*. Friday, June 17, 1864 (2nd edition, 2:30 p.m.).
<http://www.congressionalcemetery.org/Research/History_Cemetery/ClipFiles/ClipFiles_1860.html> (23 April, 2010).
- "Further particulars of the terrible explosion at the arsenal." *Washington Star*. Friday, June 17, 1864 (3rd edition, 4:00 p.m.).
<http://www.congressionalcemetery.org/Research/History_Cemetery/ClipFiles/ClipFiles_1860.html> (23 April, 2010).
- "Terrible Calamity; Explosion at the Washington Arsenal." *Daily National Intelligencer*, 18 June 1864, column D.
- "Explosion Yesterday at the Arsenal, The; Further Details and Particulars - The Coroner's Inquest." *Washington Star*. Saturday, June 18, 1864.
<http://www.congressionalcemetery.org/Research/History_Cemetery/ClipFiles/ClipFiles_1860.html> (23 April, 2010).

- "Further of the explosion - More of the Bodies Recognized - Preparations for Interment." *Washington Star*. Saturday, June 18, 1864 (2nd edition, 4 o'clock).
<http://www.congressionalcemetery.org/Research/History_Cemetery/ClipFiles/ClipFiles_1860.html> (23 April, 2010).
- "Calamity at the Arsenal, The." *Daily National Intelligencer*, 20 June 1864, column E.
- "Mournful Spectacle, A." *Daily National Intelligencer*, 20 June 1864, column B.
- "Meeting of the Employees of the Arsenal." *Washington Star*. Monday, June 20, 1864.
<http://www.congressionalcemetery.org/Research/History_Cemetery/ClipFiles/ClipFiles_1860.html> (23 April, 2010).
- "Funeral of the Victims of the Arsenal Explosion, The." *Washington Star*. Monday, June 20, 1864.
<http://www.congressionalcemetery.org/Research/History_Cemetery/ClipFiles/ClipFiles_1860.html> (23 April, 2010).

The Congressional Cemetery

- "Congressional Cemetery Historical Information." *United States Department of Veterans Affairs*. 6 January 2011. <<http://www.cem.va.gov/cems/lots/congressional.asp>> (20 February 2011).

Lot Flannery

- "In Marble and Bronze: How the Lives of Great Men are Commemorated at the Capital." *The Washington Post*. 30 September, 1879.
- "Work in the Patent Office." *The Washington Office*. 1 May, 1885.
- "General Logan's Statue; Sculptor Flannery has Prepared a Model for the Committee." *The Washington Post*. 2 July, 1890.
- "Wounds an Intruder; Lot Flannery, Sculptor, Held for Shooting Negro." *The Washington Post*. 5 September 1910.
- "Lincoln Statue to be Restore." *The Christian Science Monitor*. 28 April, 1922.

Other Newspapers

- Daily Evening Bulletin*. (No Title) San Francisco, CA. 25 August, 1864.